DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 186 206 RC 012 042

AUTHOR Lord, Sharon B.; Patton-Crowder, Carolyn
TITLE Appalachian Women: A Learning/Teaching Guide.
INSTITUTION Tennessee Univ., Knoxville.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Women's Educational Equity Act Program.
PUB DATE 79
NOTE 188p.; For related documents, see CG 014 448-449 and UD 020 627.
AVAILABLE FROM Education Development Center, 39 Chapel Street, Newton, MA 02160 ($4.00)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Bibliographies; Education; Employment; *Females; Health; Lesson Plans; Literature; Music; Needs; Poetry; Postsecondary Education; Prose; *Resource Materials; Role Models; *Rural Population; Sex Role; Units of Study; Womens Education; *Womens Studies
IDENTIFIERS *Appalachia; Rural Women

ABSTRACT

While Appalachian women share many experiences and circumstances in common with American women in general and with rural American women in particular, the economics, social and political history, and circumstances peculiar to the region have forged life experiences for females in Appalachia which merit independent attention. This learning/teaching guide is designed to provide the necessary information for developing and/or facilitating graduate courses or pursuing independent learning about the Appalachian female experience, sex-role socialization, and women's career development. Each lesson provides an introduction to the literature, learning objectives, directions for the learner, classroom and individual learning activities, a bibliography of related readings, and an appendix including original articles developed specifically for the lesson. Unit I introduces the learner and teacher to the variety of issues and concerns of Appalachian women through their writing--in poetry, music, and prose. Unit II focuses on sex roles in Appalachia from both historical and contemporary viewpoints. Unit III explores psycho-social aspects of the female experience including employment, health, education, and counseling needs. More than 700 major Appalachian writings by and/or about women are listed in a supplementary bibliography. (NEC)

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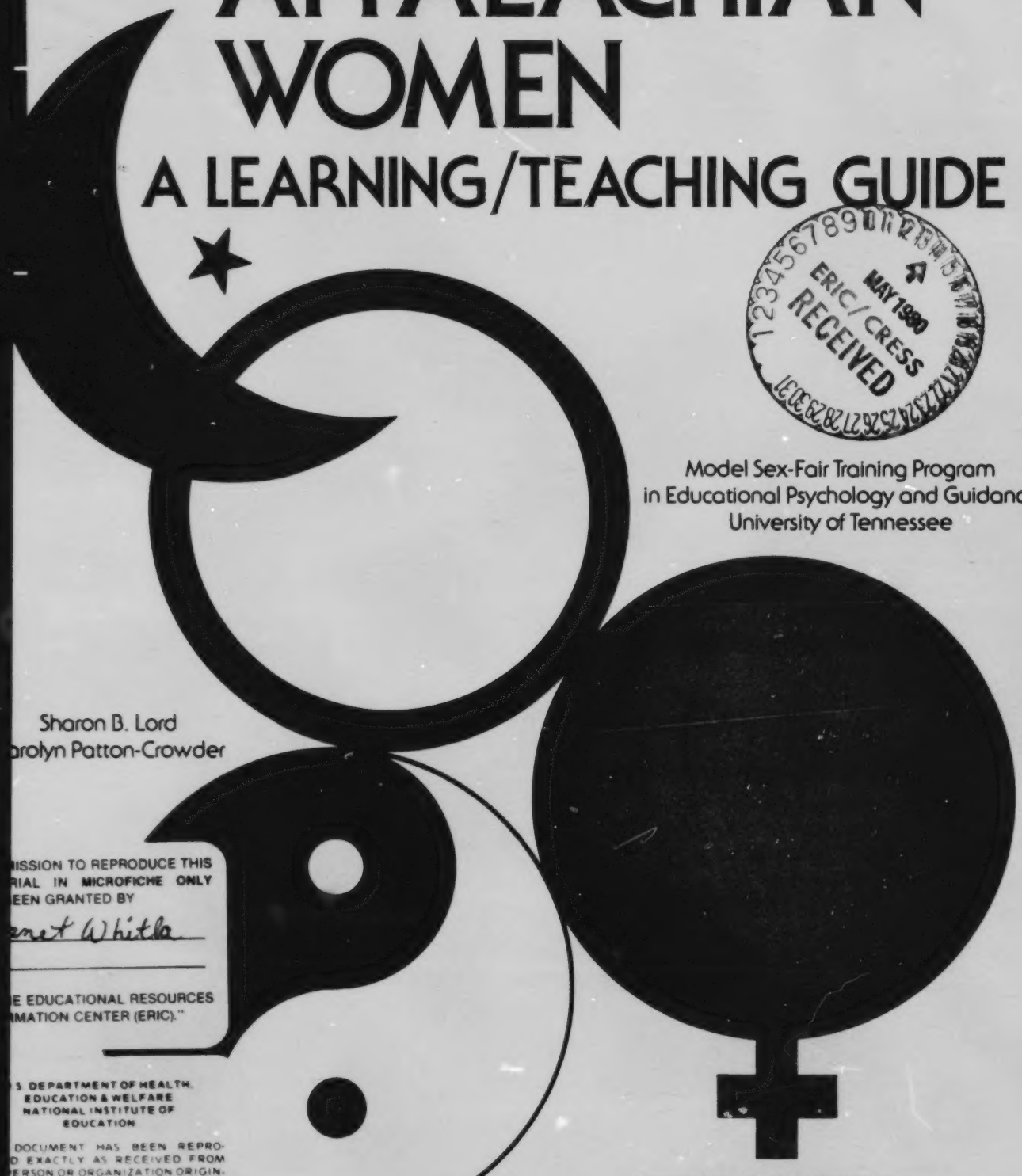
APPALACHIAN WOMEN

A LEARNING/TEACHING GUIDE



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Model Sex-Fair Training Program
in Educational Psychology and Guidance
University of Tennessee

Sharon B. Lord
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Women's Educational Equity Act Program
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Office of Education

APPALACHIAN WOMEN

A Learning/Teaching Guide

Sharon B. Lord
Carolyn Patton-Crowder

Model Sex-Fair Training Program in Educational Psychology and Guidance
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Women's Educational Equity Act Program
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
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Produced by the Model Sex-Fair Training Program in Educational Psychology and Guidance, University of Tennessee, under a grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, under the auspices of the Women's Educational Equity Act. Opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Office of Education or the Department, and no official endorsement should be inferred.

Printed and distributed by Education Development Center, 1979, 55 Chapel Street, Newton, MA 02160.

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Preface to APPALACHIAN WOMEN

The purpose of this book is to provide information which focuses specifically on the experiences of women in the Appalachian region. While Appalachian women share many experiences and circumstances in common with American women in general, and with rural American women in particular, the economic, social and political history and circumstances peculiar to the region have forged life experiences for females in Appalachia which merit independent attention.

In a sense, one could argue that rural Appalachian women (or urban women with rural Appalachian roots) have socialization experiences and life challenges uniquely related to growing up female in Appalachia. Without attempting to argue the long-debated question, "Is there a unique Appalachian sub-culture?", we have tried to recognize and give attention to those variables which seem to affect the lives of women in Appalachia uniquely.

No attempt is made in this book to provide general information on the economic, political and social circumstances of the Appalachian region. The user is referred to the Autumn 1977 issue of the *Appalachian Journal*[1] as an excellent guide to written and human resources on the Appalachian region in general. The user is also referred to Books I and II of this series for general information on female development and sex-role socialization.

It is important to recognize at the outset that no attempt has been made in this initial work to deal with the life experiences of Native-American Appalachian women. The vastly rich history and life experiences of the original Appalachian women, the American Indian women in Appalachia, merited and demanded a research effort beyond the scope of this initial project. It is our hope that this beginning effort, which we feel only scratches the surface in dealing with the issues of Appalachian women's lives, will serve as a starting point or impetus for extensive research, writing, and teaching about mountaineers who are female—not only white women, but Native American women, Black women, and other minority women, as well.

This book does not attempt to create a stereotype by defining what "the Appalachian woman" is like. Instead, we first introduce the learner and teacher to the

[1]S. Fisher, J. Williamson and J. Lewis (Eds.). "A Guide to Appalachian Studies." *Appalachian Journal*, 5(1), Autumn 1977.

variety of issues and concerns of Appalachian women through their writings—in poetry, music, and literature.

The various lessons utilize and refer to resources which are available in print form. In those cases where nothing was available in the current literature, we have created articles to supplement the lessons. *It is extremely important that the learner or teacher acquire the articles and readings to which a given lesson refers.* Without these readings, many of the lessons would be ineffective.

With the exception of the original articles contained in this book, the most important contribution is probably the extensive annotated bibliographies, compiled on various topics such as health care, women in the labor force, and female role models. Individual learning projects could be designed using these bibliographies; such projects would greatly enhance the exercises contained in the individual lessons.

The table of contents will introduce you to the various topics covered in this book. Due to time constraints we were unable to develop lessons on several important topics, such as urban Appalachian women and Appalachian women as political activists.

The learning/teaching guides can be used individually as single components, or they can be combined for use as a four-volume set. If all four guides are used together, learners/teachers should familiarize themselves with the lessons in Books I, II and III of this female development series in order to have available the full range of information and resources on female development.
because it is traditionally a symbol both of paradise and of female spirituality. Because the Appalachian mountain region represents to us a potential paradise on planet Earth, we chose this symbol to represent Appalachian women.

It is from our experiences as and love for Appalachian women that we undertook this endeavor as part of a much larger research project. We have benefitted immensely by rediscovering our Appalachian foremothers, by reclaiming our roots, by coming to a better understanding of the dynamics that affect our lives and the lives of those we love. We regret that our financial resources did not allow us to reprint every single article that we discovered, referred to in the individual lessons.

It is our hope that new courses and sections in already established courses will spring up which focus on the female experience in Appalachia; for not only will Appalachian women and men benefit from a better understanding of female development in the region, but also America at large has much to learn from the positive aspects and struggles of Appalachian women and Appalachian culture.

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INTRODUCTION

Use of the Learning/Teaching Guides

OVERVIEW OF THE FOUR-BOOK SERIES ON FEMALE DEVELOPMENT

In 1976, the Department of Educational Psychology and Guidance at the University of Tennessee was funded by the Office of Education, under the Women's Educational Equity Act, to develop a model sex-fair graduate training program in counseling, educational psychology, and career education. The products developed during the first year of the model training program are a series of four books, designed as learning/teaching guides, which focus on the female experience in America, and understanding sex roles and moving beyond. The four learning/teaching guides are:

1. *Understanding Sex Roles and Moving Beyond*
2. *The Female Experience in America: Development, Counseling, and Career Issues*
3. *The Black Female Experience in America*
4. *Appalachian Women*

The guides can be used individually as single components, or they can be combined for use as a four-volume set. All are designed to provide the necessary information for developing and/or facilitating courses or pursuing independent learning on topics such as female development, counseling women, psychology of the female experience, sex-role socialization and androgyny, and women's career development.

The lessons in *The Black Female Experience in America* and *Appalachian Women* are designed to be an integral part of general courses in women's studies, Black studies, and Appalachian studies, as well as to be used as a starting point for individual courses on the Black female experience and the Appalachian female experience.

Each book in the series contains lessons which are organized into a common format, so the lessons can be interchanged to fit the learner/teacher's needs. Each lesson contains:

a. A 1-5 page introduction to the literature with a rationale for the lesson;

b. A set of learning objectives for the lesson;

Page x - blank

c. Directions for learner or facilitator preparation including recommended readings;

d. Classroom and individual learning activities which can be utilized to meet each learning objective;

e. A bibliography containing additional recommended related readings;

f. An appendix containing original articles related to the lesson which were developed specifically for the lesson, learning exercise worksheets, and related readings not easily available elsewhere.

By interchanging lessons from the various learning/teaching guides, the user can create courses or a learning situation which emphasize her/his individual objectives and needs.

Hopefully, the books will not only be used by individuals already facilitating related courses, but will also be used as an aid in designing new courses. The books are also designed to be used by individuals pursuing independent, self-directed study.

Following is a list of the lessons contained in each book:

Book I

UNDERSTANDING SEX ROLES AND MOVING BEYOND

Joanna Allman, Sharon B. Lord, Karl White, Linda Clark

Unit I Formula for Restricted Development: Sex-Role Stereotypes in America

1. Introduction to Sex-Role Stereotyping
2. Female Sex Roles
3. Male Sex Roles
4. Sex Differences and Androgyny

Unit II Examining Sex Roles Across Cultures

5. Sex Roles Across Cultures
6. Black Sex Roles in America
7. Sex Roles in Appalachia

Unit III Sex Roles in American Institutions: Getting Clear and Moving On

8. The Nuclear Family: Marriage and Parenthood
9. Sex Roles and Sexuality
10. Sexism in Language
11. Toward Sex Fairness in Education
12. Sex Roles in Religion
13. Working Sex Roles Out of the Labor Force
14. Sex Roles and Mental Health Services
15. Ending Is Beginning: Strategies for Change

Appendix

Suggested Media Resources

Book II

THE FEMALE EXPERIENCE IN AMERICA: DEVELOPMENT, COUNSELING, AND CAREER ISSUES

Sharon B. Lord, Liz Wyman, Nan Scott, Mary Ellen McLoughlin

Unit I Female Development

1. The Traditional Female Role
2. Women and Achievement
3. The Myth America Syndrome
4. Menstruation and Menopause
5. Pregnancy and Childbirth
6. Female Sexuality
7. Birth Control
8. Theories of Women's Career Development

Unit II Women's Career Patterns — Life Styles

9. Women in the Paid Labor Force
10. Homemaking as a Career
11. Life-Style Options
12. Lesbian Relationships
13. Women and Children

Unit III Women Growing and Changing: Counseling Approaches

14. Women in Counseling/Therapy: Traditional Theory and Practices
15. Sex Bias in Career Counseling and Career Interest Inventories
16. Feminist Approaches to Counseling and Therapy

Unit IV Critical Incidents in Female Development: Counseling Issues

17. Depression in Middle-Aged Women
18. Crisis in Marriage
19. Widowhood
20. Divorce
21. Re-entry Women
22. Rape
23. Battered Women
24. Pregnancy Termination
25. Selected Issues in Women's Health

Appendix

Suggested Media Resources

Book III

THE BLACK FEMALE EXPERIENCE IN AMERICA

Joanna Allman, Patricia Bell Scott, Marian Hardin, Sharon B. Lord

Unit I The Black Woman: Herstory
1. Black Women in Slavery
2. Black Woman in the 20th Century
3. Black Women Role Models: Historical and Contemporary

Unit II Black Women: Maintaining Personal Power
4. Black Feminism
5. New Roads to Survival for Black Women

Unit III Relationships, Roles, and the Family Life of Black Women
6. Black Sex Roles in America
7. The Myth of the Black Matriarchy
8. The Black Male
9. Strengths of the Black Family

Unit IV Being Black and Female: Toward Healthy Development
10. Counseling Concerns: On Becoming a Healthy Person
11. Depression and Suicide: Emerging Concerns
12. Hypertension and Cancer
13. Research Priorities for the Study of Black Women

Appendix:
Suggested Media Resources

Book IV

APPALACHIAN WOMEN

Sharon B. Lord, Carolyn Patton-Crowder

Unit I Appalachian Women: An Introduction through Poetry, Music and Prose
1. The Joys and Struggles of Mountain Women
2. Appalachian Women as Depicted in Fiction

Unit II Sex Roles in Appalachia
3. Introduction to Sex-Role Stereotyping in American Society
4. Historical Sex Roles in Appalachia
5. Contemporary Sex Roles in Rural-Agricultural Appalachia

Unit III Female Role Models: Historical and Contemporary
6. Women's History: Lost, Stolen or Strayed
7. Appalachian Women in Traditional Roles

8. Appalachian Women in Nontraditional Roles

Unit IV Psychosocial Aspects of the Female Experience in Appalachia

9. Appalachian Women and Work
10. Health Issues of Appalachian Women
11. Education and Counseling Needs of Appalachian Women

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A. Suggested Media Resources
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TOWARD SELF-RESPONSIBLE LEARNING: SUGGESTIONS FOR A TEACHING/LEARNING APPROACH

In developing and testing out the lessons contained in this book, we tried to utilize approaches which fostered the development of independent, self-responsible learners. The teaching/learning approach recommended for these books treats each student as a potential teaching resource who is involved in determining her/his own learning objectives. A primary goal is for the students to take responsibility for their own learning. In addition to the learning objectives that the instructor may choose for the entire class, students can define personal, individual objectives and present a plan outlining the procedure for accomplishing their goals. Any percentage of the final grade could be determined from individual projects which reflect student-determined objectives.

In a course emphasizing the growth and development of the learner, the traditional patriarchal teaching model of one authority figure is considered dysfunctional for several reasons: (1) "The authority" usually assumes total responsibility for the learning objectives and structure of the entire course, thereby minimizing the development of the student's self-responsibility in the learning process. (2) The validity of the learner's personal experience and understanding are often discounted if they are viewed as different from those of the instructor. (3) The practice of assuming that all power "rests" in the hands of one authority figure encourages the learner to remain passive and dependent upon the instructor. This is a role from which female students, in particular, need to free themselves.[1]

We suggest that the instructor serve as class coordinator, and when possible that the course be team-taught. At least one female facilitator/teacher should always be involved with the courses. A circular seating arrangement is suggested to

[1]S. Lord. "Teaching the Psychology of Women: Examination of a Teaching/Learning Approach." Paper presented at American Psychological Association, 1975. (Available from 108 Claxton, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.)

allow for the maximum interchange of ideas. Coordinator(s) usually present topics, facilitate class discussions, act as resource persons, and deliver lectures only when necessary. Class members and invited guests with information on relevant course topics assume a major responsibility for many sessions. During the first class and throughout the course, cooperation of students and coordinator(s), rather than competition, is stressed. Students are encouraged to participate fully in class discussions and group activities in order to maximize learning. Thus, optimum class size is approximately 20-25 students. The lessons can be implemented in larger classes, however, with some adjustments in learning activities.

In order to counteract the threat of evaluation that can often hinder personal involvement in a course, the following strategies are suggested:[2]

1. Provide frequent evaluations in place of the standard midterm and final examinations.
2. Distribute a list of study questions at the first class session. Test questions are then selected from this list. For example, the list may contain 20 to 30 essay questions from which one, two, or three may be selected for each evaluation.
3. Designate some evaluations as take-home assignments.
4. Choose and explain a simple scoring system at the beginning of the course. Thus students can compute their own grade at any point.

In addition, students may be asked to contract for the grade they wish to attain. If the instructor wishes to use this approach, a point system should be developed and distributed to students at the first class meeting. A minimum number of points should be required to be earned from examinations. Additional points may be earned for participating in prepared role-playing activities, presenting results of personal projects, completing journals, or creating other activities suggested by students with instructor approval.

Recommended Student Activities

A variety of student activities can be incorporated into the lessons from any of the four books. These recommended activities are consistent with the assumptions of the teaching/learning model upon which each lesson was designed (Lord, 1975). The ultimate goal of each technique is to increase students' acceptance of responsibility for their own learning and to encourage students to capitalize upon their own unique learning styles.

Student Learning Projects

A learning project has five basic parts: (1) objectives, (2) rationale, (3) resources to be used in meeting the objectives, (4) method of presenting

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[2]The suggestions are adapted from E.L. Tolbert, *Instructor's Manual: Counseling for Career Development*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974.

the material to the class, (5) the method of presenting the material to the facilitator for evaluation. To facilitate students' understanding of the project, it sometimes helps to explain each component: (1) An objective is the goal you are hoping to achieve. (2) A rationale is the reason or basis for pursuing the idea. (3) Resources are the aids to be used in reaching the goal. (4) Method of presentation is how the material will be shared with the class: lecture, activity, slide presentation, film and discussion. (5) Method of presentation for facilitator evaluation enables the student to summarize and to permanently document the learning experience. The alternatives include a position paper, an annotated bibliography, tape-recorded lecture with a written outline, photographs or slides with written narrative, or others as agreed upon by the student and facilitator.

A preliminary learning project proposal is submitted to the facilitator who serves as a resource person. As resource person, the facilitator, should have knowledge of relevant publications, films, videotapes, etc., and their accessibility. S/he should also be available to students for discussion of projects to enable students to create objectives and plans for the project. Before preliminary proposals are submitted, the students should have located and scanned the materials they plan to use. After a plan is agreed upon, students make a copy for themselves and the facilitator and proceed with the research.

It is suggested that at least 10-15 minutes be available to each student for presentation of projects, followed by class discussion. Many students find it useful for the facilitator to comment on her/his presentation technique and content.

Journals

Instructors may recommend that students keep a journal of personal reactions to class materials and discussions. Journal entries may include new awarenesses, questions, relevant quotes from outside sources or personal contacts, or any personal statements related to the class which a student may not feel comfortable sharing with the class. The instructor may wish to require a minimum number of entries per week. It is suggested that journals not be assigned a grade, but be credited as complete if they contain the required number of entries rather than judged on any qualitative basis. The purpose of the journal is to encourage the student to reflect on what is happening personally as a result of the course or learning experience.

Assertiveness Training

Participating in an assertiveness training group is often a very complementary activity to the intellectual study of female development. Essentially, assertion theory assumes there are three basic ways for people to act in a given situation: they may be passive, aggressive or

assertive. Though most people characteristically react in each way at various times in different situations, one style is usually predominant.

Women, as a group, have been socialized to adopt a passive reaction style. The result of such a pattern of interaction is to render a person dependent upon others for decisions, threatened and anxious in new situations, and basically powerless on one's own. Aggressive behavior, on the other hand, also results in destructive tendencies: the humiliation and depreciation of others. Most women in our society do not react in this way, since it is antithetical to the stereotypic feminine sex role. When they do, they are often ostracized and alienated. Assertive behavior offers a positive alternative to responding to people and situations. The assertive woman is able to state her feelings, desires, and views honestly and directly. Though she may not always achieve her goals, she has the self-awareness that she has done all she can in the given situation and has usually left the dignity of others intact.

Acting assertively requires practice. Anxiety is a normal feeling when new behaviors are incorporated into one's repertoire. To give people an opportunity to try out new responses, a technique called "assertiveness training" has been developed. In assertiveness training, a woman is taught to get in touch with her feelings, to use her voice and body language effectively and generally to value herself as an equal participant in any interaction. Role playing is usually a major component of the training sessions, with participants acting out relevant social interactions in assertive ways. The utilization of videotapes can provide an additional dimension for self-evaluation.

Assertiveness training for students could be directed by the teacher, if he or she is familiar with the techniques. Otherwise, resource persons could be contacted to provide this program for students. Assertiveness training groups are excellent supplementary learning activities for a female development course.

Dyad Partners

In a large class, the use of dyad partners is very effective in accelerating group sharing and interaction. After at least two class meetings in which some personal information and professional objectives have been shared, students select a dyad partner. The dyads are asked to meet at least one hour weekly to discuss any topic, reaction, or feeling related to the class. The dyads usually provide a sounding board for ideas, a support person for each student, a study buddy, and a place for quieter students to have an opportunity to discuss the course.

Consciousness-Raising or Men's/Women's Growth Groups

CR groups or same-gender growth groups provide an opportunity, outside of class, for individuals to explore all the feelings and/or changes

that may be occurring as a result of studying the female experience in America and sex roles.

What is a female? What is a male? What is masculinity? What is femininity? Questions such as these are currently being explored by participants in thousands of groups across the United States. These groups, usually labeled consciousness-raising, awareness, or growth groups, are enabling group members to explore individual oppression by examining the various roles (personal, cultural, social, sexual, political and religious) that each person is accustomed to playing. Examination of these roles does not necessarily mean elimination of them; but the options of retaining, changing, or perhaps discarding roles are explored.

Consciousness Raising (CR) is a group mechanism derived from the women's movement and is believed to be one of the most effective avenues to involvement for human liberation for women and men. At the core of CR is introspection, and those who join the experience of consciousness raising often do so out of a need to examine their self-image. Others may join at the urging of a friend already involved in such a group. CR provides opportunities for introspection and discussion of concerns related to male and female roles, concepts of self-identity, as well as the opportunity to share ideas and feelings with others and learn from each other through disclosures of common and diverse experiences and feelings.

The success of any CR venture depends on the mutual acceptance of the goals of the group by the participants and the formation of trust among group members. Confidentiality is a key word from the onset of any consciousness-raising group. Sorenson suggests that using "group games" or giving structure can help "break the ice" in the beginning stages of a newly formed group. Leaderless or structured CR has been successful with persons who have already begun to examine societal roles and expectations, but the use of group exercises as catalysts for discussion in beginning groups has proven to facilitate a more rapid development of cohesion and trust.

CR must begin with the individual and progress from the individual to society and interpersonal relationships. If roles are to change in society, an understanding of the oppressing factors involved in conventional sex-stereotyped roles for men and women is essential to CR.

An experienced group facilitator should conduct the initial CR session, but group members may want to alternate facilitating the exercises once the group is firmly established. The facilitator should always participate in the experience. Several facilitators suggest the following rules are applicable to all CR groups meetings:

1. Do speak personally, using the pronoun "I."
2. Do speak as briefly as possible . . . don't monopolize time.

3. Do speak honestly . . . others will see through falsehoods.
4. Do stick to the topic. Be relevant at all times.
5. Do listen to others to learn about yourself.
6. Don't interrupt another person.
7. Don't question the person talking (except to ask for clarification).
8. Don't criticize.
9. Don't challenge.
10. Don't give advice.

If instructors using the books in this series are not experienced in consciousness-raising groups, resource persons can be invited to provide this learning activity for students or students can coordinate their own groups using the guidelines suggested by Gornick in "Consciousness" (1971).[3]

Physical Activity

It is strongly recommended that learners participate in a regular physical activity throughout the learning experience, whether it is a course or pursued individually. Mind/body integration and holistic growth can be experienced much more readily if physical activity is regular and receives a high priority from the learner. Learning to be confident in asserting oneself in space enhances one's confidence and assertiveness in general.

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[3]V. Gornick. "Consciousness." In *Readings on the Psychology of Women.* Edited by J. Bardwick. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

UNIT I

APPALACHIAN WOMEN: AN INTRODUCTION THROUGH POETRY, MUSIC AND PROSE

Unit I
Lesson 1

THE JOYS AND STRUGGLES OF MOUNTAIN WOMEN

INTRODUCTION

Appalachian women are as varied as the shades of colors of the leaves on a West Virginia hillside in late autumn. Their life experiences are varied and diverse, affected greatly by factors such as family history and characteristics, employment opportunities in the immediate area of their home, educational background, and the economic, social and political circumstances of the section of Appalachia in which they live (or from which they migrated).

In a changing Appalachia, photographers are often tempted to choose an older woman—modestly dressed, seated in her rocker on the front porch of a mountain cabin as she finishes a handmade quilt—and depict her as "the Appalachian woman." And while some Appalachian women do quilt, and rock, and live in mountain cabins, the photographer usually does not consider that his subject may also work all week in a textile mill, or may have just returned from walking a picket line at a local mine strike, or may be the director of the area health clinic, a teacher in a local school, a social worker for the county welfare department, or the domestic engineer for her family of twelve.

In order to introduce the learner to the various concerns, struggles, joys, and values affecting the lives of women in Appalachia, this lesson allows the learner to hear mountain women of all ages speak—through their poetry and their music.

OBJECTIVES

1. **To meet Appalachian women, through their own writing, and to examine some of their concerns, challenges, joys, struggles, and values.**

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FACILITATOR PREPARATION

Read the materials in this lesson carefully. Select learning activities appropriate for your learning/teaching situation.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Activity I: Woman's Identification with the Region and Its Mountains: Three Poems by Mountain Women

1. Read the handout "I Am Appalachia," which contains three poems by mountain women.
2. The following questions could be used for facilitating discussion or as review questions:
   a. What values are reflected in the three poems?
   b. In what ways is the female experience analogous to Appalachia and its mountains?
   c. How are the feelings expressed by the three writers similar?
   d. How are they different?
3. Write your own poem(s), relating your personal feelings about women and the Appalachian region.

Activity II: The Joys and Struggles of Mountain Women: A Collection of Women's Music and Poetry

1. Read the lyrics and poems labeled "Activity II: The Joys and Struggles of Mountain Women" to examine issues of concern to mountain women. In addition, read selections by women from *Growin' Up Country* (Axelrod, 1973).
2. The following questions may be used for facilitating discussion:
   a. What are the concerns of Appalachian women?
   b. What events or variables are spoken of joyfully?
   c. What seem to be the struggles of these women's lives?
   d. What values are reflected in their songs and poems?
3. An optional assignment in this activity would be to ask students to locate additional poems and songs written by mountain women, such as those contained in *Voices from the Mountains* (Carawan and Carawan, 1975).

Activity III: One Point of View: Growin' Up—Appalachian, Female and Feminist

1. Read the article "Growin' Up—Appalachian, Female and Feminist" by Lord (included with this lesson).
2. Utilize the following discussion questions:
   a. What are the positive values associated with growing up in Appalachia as perceived by this Appalachian writer?
   b. In what ways can growing up in an Appalachian community be an advantage to a female's development?
   c. What are some of the struggles related to growing up female in Appalachia? What potential barriers to maximum human development are perceived by this author?
   d. Why might an Appalachian child grow up with an awareness of class struggle and oppression not present in her non-Appalachian counterpart?
   e. What do you perceive as the relationship between class oppression and oppression (or discrimination) on the basis of sex?

THE JOYS AND STRUGGLES OF MOUNTAIN WOMEN

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APPENDIX: READINGS AND ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY I: WOMAN'S IDENTIFICATION WITH THE REGION AND ITS MOUNTAINS: THREE POEMS BY MOUNTAIN WOMEN*

APPALACHIA
Muriel Miller Dressler

I am Appalachia! In my veins
Runs fierce mountain pride; the hill-fed streams
Of passion; and, stranger, you don't know me!
You've analyzed my every move—you still
Go away shaking your head. I remain
Enigmatic. How can you find rapport with me—
You, who never stood in the bowels of hell,
Never felt a mountain shake and open its jaws
To partake of human sacrifice?
You, who never stood on a high mountain,
Watching the sun unwind its spiral rays;
Who never searched the glens for wild flowers,
Never picked mayapples or black walnuts; never ran
Wildly through the woods in pure delight,
Nor dangled your feet in a lazy creek?
You, who never danced to wild sweet notes,
Outpourings of nimble-fingered fiddlers;
Who never just "sat a spell" on a porch,
Chewing and whittling; or hearing in pastime
The deep-throated bay of chasing hounds
And hunters shouting with joy, "he's treed!"
You, who never once carried a coffin
To a family plot high upon a ridge
Because mountain folk know it's best to lie
Where breezes from the hills whisper, "you're home;"
You, who never saw from the valley that graves on a hill
Bring easement of pain to those below?
I tell you, stranger, hill folk know
What life is all about; they don't need pills
To tranquilize the sorrow and joy of living.
I am Appalachia; and, stranger,
Though you've studied me, you still don't know.

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I AM THESE MOUNTAINS

Sharon Burmeister Lord

I am these mountains.
These mountains are me.

For I have weathered life,
the elements,
the growth of being.

And, at once
I am round,
and old,
and wise,
and young,
and dying,
and alive.

The parts of my being that have died
contribute to my aliveness.

Parts of me have been stolen,
raped,
denied their natural form of being.

But man cannot destroy me,
for I am WHOLE—
a vital, thriving organism.

My growth repairs my wounds.

I will not be fragmented–
divided into p/a/r/t/s—
unnatural.

I am whole!

I am these mountains.
These mountains are me.

I AM APPALACHIA
Charlene Reynolds

I am Appalachia

These mountains and I are one

As the tree-covered slopes strive to touch the heavens
so does my spirit strive for freedom from
these bonds in which society
has placed me.

My spirit cries for recognition
for a place
and a glory all its own.

It reaches out to others in far-away places
and instead of a warm welcome
it gets laughed at and mocked—

because it likes the old ways of life
better than the new;
and trusts time-tested traditions
more than new-fangled inventions;

because its people are plain, ever'day folk
who are content to live life at a leisurely pace
and love every precious moment of it.

Yes, these are my people
my mountains, my valleys
my animals, and wildflowers.

I am one with the wind and the fire and the rain
I am Appalachia
God is my father; I am His child
And curse the man who won't let me be what He would have me be.

ACTIVITY II: THE JOYS AND STRUGGLES OF MOUNTAIN WOMEN: A COLLECTION OF WOMEN'S MUSIC* AND POETRY**

WEST VIRGINIA HILLS

Ellen King H.E. Engle 1886

Oh, the West Virginia hills! How majestic and how grand,
With their summits bathed in glory, Like our Prince Immanuel's land.
Is it any wonder, then, That my heart with rapture thrills,
As I stand once more with loved ones On those West Virginia hills?

Chorus: Oh, the hills, Beautiful hills,
(beautiful hills) (beautiful hills)
How I love those West Virginia hills,
(beautiful hills):
If o'er sea or land I roam, Still I'll think of happy home,
And the friends among the West Virginia hills.

Oh, the West Virginia hills! Where my girlhood's hours were pass'd;
Where I often wander'd lonely, And the future tried to cast;
Many are our visions bright Which the future ne'er fulfills;
But how sunny were my daydreams On those West Virginia hills!

Oh, the West Virginia hills! How unchang'd they seem to stand,
With their summits pointed skyward, To the Great Almighty's Land.
Many changes I can see, Which my heart with sadness fills,
But no changes can be noticed In those West Virginia hills!

Oh, the West Virginia hills! I must bid you now adieu;
In my home beyond the mountains I shall ever dream of you;
In the evening time of life, If my Father only wills
I shall still behold the vision Of those West Virginia hills.

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*The musical notations for all the lyrics included appear in Carawan and Carawan, *Voices from the Mountains*, with the exception of "West Virginia Hills."

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GO TELL THE CHILDREN

Muriel Miller Dressler

Go tell the children the mountain is trembling,
An earth-moving monster is eating its way
Through grape vines and shumate and wild laurel thickets
And even Sweet William has fallen prey.

Go tell the children their true love is dying,
The whippoorwill's song no more shall they know;
Go tell the children to bow down in sorrow;
The fullness of mountains—of mountains must go!

Go tell the children to weep for the passing
Of red bud and sarvis—a sight to be be seen!
Tell them to hang down their heads in their sorrow
As they sing, "Green gravel, the grass is so green."

The flowers of the fringetree are blacker than midnight,
The blue fruit now lies on the crust of dead earth;
No more shall white flowers hang down like fringes;
O, go tell the children I weep at their birth!

Go tell the children that trailing arbutus
Lies in cold ashes of campfires once red,
That pipestem and spicebush now yield to the slaughter;
O, go tell the children the mountain is dead!

BLACK WATERS
Jean Ritchie

I come from the mountains, Kentucky's my home,
Where the wild deer and the black bear so lately did roam;
By cool rushing water-falls the wild flowers dream,
And through every green valley there runs a clear stream.
Now there's scenes of destruction on every hand,
And there's only black waters run down through my land.
Sad scenes of destruction on every hand
Black waters, black waters run down through our land.

O the quail, she's a pretty bird, she sings a sweet tongue;
In the roots of tall timbers she nests with her young.
But the hillside explodes with the dynamite's roar,
And the songs of the small birds shall sound there no more.
And the hillsides come a-sliding so awful and grand,
And the flooding black waters rise over my land.
Sad scenes of destruction on every hand;
Black waters, black waters run down through the land.

In the rising of the springtime we planted our corn,
In the ending of the springtime we buried a son,
In summer come a nice man, said, "Everything's fine—
My employer just requires a way to his mine"—
Then they threw down my mountain and covered my corn,
And the grave on the hillside's a mile deeper down,
And the man stands and talks with his hat in his hand
As the poisonous water spreads over my land.
Sad scenes of destruction on every hand;
Black waters, black waters run down through the land.

Well, I ain't got no money and not much of a home;
I own my own land, but my land's not my own.
But if I had ten million—somewheres thereabouts—
I would buy Perry County and I'd run 'em all out!
Set down on the bank with my bait in my can,
And just watch the clear waters run down through my land!
Well, wouldn't that be like the old Promised Land?
Black waters, black waters no more in my land!

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ACT OF MAN

Ethel Brewster, Shelva Thompson, and Shelby Steele

Down in the valley, where the poor people live,
There came a disaster I'll never forget.
It came one morning around about eight,
They gave them a warning, but it came too late.

The waters came rushing like a big tidal wave.
They ran for the mountains, they ran for the caves.
But the water overtook them, their homes and their lives,
Killing little children, husbands and wives.

Now the coal company squabbled over who was to blame.
They blame it on God, and there damn his name.
For the people who live there know who was at fault,
For on that sad morning murder was wrought.

Now standing on a hillside, left all alone
A father stood weeping whle the coal rolls on.
For the company has no feeling for what they have done—
They killed his wife, his daughter and son.

Now they won't be punished for what the have done—
Just poor people died there, not a rich man or his son.
For they live in fine mansions from the wealth they have stole,
But God will have vengeance, or so I am told.
But God will have vengeance, or so I am told.

WHEN SAREY HOUSE CLEANS
Muriel Miller Dressler

Well John, I've come t' set a spell.
I'm plumb wore out; too tard t' do a thing
'Cept talk. I warshed and arned the curtains
Whilst I aired our room. Then I scrubbed
The floors. Sarey says I ought t' try
Some Johnson's wax, but I can't bring myself
T' doin' it. Lordy, honey, I've
O'Cedared them floors fer forty years.
No need of my a changin' now. Let somethin'
Come out and Sarey jumps on it all
Spraddled out! I can't larn her nothin'.
Yes, indeed. I told her it wuz good
Enough fer me, but you know these young'uns.
They take off like Snyder's hound with somethin'
New. Sarey says I'm set in my ways.
Well, maybe I am. But *new* don't mean
Better, and I told her so. It'd be
Easier t' hit the side of Simpson's
Barn than t' strike Sarey with commonsense.
You always said my floors wuz clean enough
T' eat offen. That's good enough fer me!

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?
Florence Reece

Come all of you good workers,
Good news to you I'll tell
Of how the good old union
Has come in here to dwell.
Which side are you on?
Which side are you on?
Which side are you on?
Which side are you on?

My daddy was a miner
And I'm a miner's son,
And I'll stick with the union
Till ev'ry battle's won.
Which side are you on? etc.

They say in Harlan County
There are no neutrals there;
You'll either be a union man
Or a thug for J.H. Blair.
Which side are you on? etc.

Oh, workers, can you stand it?
Oh, tell me how you can.
Will you be a lousy scab
Or will you be a man?
Which side are you on? etc.

Don't scab for the bosses,
Don't listen to their lies.
Us poor folks haven't got a chance
Unless we organize.
Which side are you on? etc.

BLACK LUNG
Hazel Dickens

He's had more hard luck than most men could stand,
The mines was his first love, but never his friend,
He's lived a hard life, and hard he'll die,
Black Lung's done got him, his time is nigh.

Black Lung, Black Lung, you're just biding your time,
Soon all this suffering I'll leave behind,
But I can't help but wonder what God had in mind,
To send such a devil to claim this soul of mine.

He went to the boss man, but he closed the door,
Well, it seems you're not wanted when you're sick and you're poor,
You're not even covered in their medical plans,
And your life depends on the favors of man.

Down in the poor house on starvation's plan,
Where pride is a stranger and doomed is a man,
His soul full of coal dust 'til his body's decayed,
And everyone but Black Lung has done turned him away.

Black Lung, Black Lung, oh your hand's icy cold,
As you reach for my life and you torture my soul,
Coal dust and water hole down in that dark cave,
Whore I spent my life's blood, digging my own grave.

Down at the grave yard the boss man came,
With his little bunch of flowers, dear God, what a shame,
Take back those flowers, don't you sing no sad songs,
The die has been cast, now a good man is gone.

YARB WOMAN
Muriel Miller Dressler

Imagine their amazement when they saw her;
An old woman squatting in a tangled wood;
Her cotton-candy hair was like the alder
By the river with its powder-curled hood.

She pawed the earth with wrinkled-leather fingers
Then snapped and tasted and smelled every weed;
I'm sure they thought it odd, such strange behavior
Must really have looked peculiar, indeed.

She dug and scraped, then dropped them in her apron,
As sparrows gave a bright and knowing stare;
She tied, with brown and weathered fingers, her bonnet
And talked to herself as she walked out there.

O, spignet root will purify the kidneys,
Whilst yaller root's fer sore throat and ear pains;
Indian poke is good fer high blood pressure;
And mullein root's fer healin' colds and sprains.
Strong snake root tea will kill a risin' fever;
Red spignet berries help a croupy child,
And ginsang root gives me the strength fer diggin'
All the medicine that's growing' in the wild.
I don't put no faith in city doctors;
I dig and mix the wild yarbs that I need.

Imagine their amazement when they saw her;
A wizened, old hill woman eating weeds!

DREADFUL MEMORIES

Sarah Ogan Gunning

Dreadful memories, how they linger,
How they ever flood my soul,
How the workers and their childrer
Died from hunger and from cold.

Hungry fathers, wearied mothers
Living in those dreadful shacks,
Little children cold and hungry
With no clothing on their backs.

Dreadful gun-thugs and stool-pigeons
Always flock around our door.
What's the crime that we've committed?
Nothing, only that we're poor.

Oh, those memories, how they haunt me
Makes me want to organize
Makes me want to help the workers
Make them open up their eyes.

When I think of all the heartaches
And all the things that we've been through,
Then I wonder how much longer
And what a working man can do.

Really, friends, it doesn't matter
Whether you are black or white.
The only way you'll ever change things
Is to fight and fight and fight.

We will have to join the union,
They will help you find a way
How to get a better living
And for your work get better pay.

MY CHILDREN IN THE SNOW
Claudia E. Burmeister

It's such a perfectly beautiful day
  For the children to be in the snow to play.
So Sharon and Sonny, Kerry and Bets
  Dress up warmly and say, "Mama, don't fret;
We won't catch a cold; we'll come in to warm."
  "Now, Mudder, don't worry; there'll be no harm."

They grab up their sleds and go on their way;
  I look from the window to watch them at play.
Sonny comes gliding down the hill—
  Whoops—he just took a great big spill!
But he comes up smiling, as he usually does;
  He knocks off the snow from his coat and gloves.

He hops on his sleigh, takes off like the wind
  And sails down the hill 'til he comes to the end.
Then Sharon comes along with Kerry beside
  And, oh, it's so thrilling to watch them glide
With their faces glowing and eyes starry bright;
  You just know their hearts are filled with delight.

Now, Bets, so fearless, so happy and gay,
  Makes a pretty picture as she takes her sleigh.
"Watch me, Mama," I hear her call. I answer,
  "Careful, sweetheart, don't you fall."
Then I recall what it had meant to me
  To play in the snow and shout happily.

VOICES FROM THE MOUNTAINS
Ruthie Gorton*

You'd better listen to the voices from the mountains
Tryin' to tell you what you just might need to know,
'Cause the empire's days are numbered if you're countin'
And the people just get stronger blow by blow.

You'd better listen when they talk about strip mining
Gonna turn the rollin' hills to acid clay.
If you're preachin' all about that silver lining,
You'll be talkin' till the hills are stripped away.

You'd better listen to the cries of the dyin' miners,
'Better feel the pain of their children and their wives.
We gotta stand and fight together for survival,
'And it's bound to mean a change in all our lives

In explosions or from Black Lung they'll be dyin',
And the operator's guilty of this crime.
But the killin' won't be stopped by all your cryin'.
We gotta fight for what we need, let's seize the time.

You'd better listen to the voices from the mountains
Tryin' to tell you what you just might need to know,
'Cause the empire's days are numbered if you're countin'
And the people just get stronger blow by blow.

NEW DAY COMIN'

Anne Hopkins

Goin' on down that new road,
New road, new road,
Goin' on down that new road,
There's a new day comin' to the hills.

There's a new day comin', sister,
There's a new day comin', brother,
When we'll all stand together,
There's a new day comin to the hill.

There's a day a-comin'
When the earth will not be torn
And the mighty riches deep within
Are once again our own.
We'll take back our land, our pride,
No more in poverty,
Mountain women, mountain men,
Together standing free.

Goin' on down that new road,
New road, new road,
Goin' on down that new road,
There's a new day comin' to the hills.

The morning sky is fresh and clean,
The streams are running clear,
Corn is growing straight and tall
High up on the hill.
Laughing children sing and play,
Run down the mountainside,
No longer growing up to leave
With hunger in their eyes.

Goin' on down that new road,
New road, new road,
Goin' on down that new road,
There's a new day comin' to the hills.

There's a new day comin', sister,
There's a new day comin', brother,
When we'll all stand together,
There's a new day comin' to the hills.

ACTIVITY III: GROWIN' UP—APPALACHIAN, FEMALE, AND FEMINIST*

Sharon Burmeister Lord

I think of myself as a contemporary mountain woman. I spent the first eighteen years of my life growing up in rural Appalachia. Today I am a professor at a state university in the Appalachian region. I am also a farmer, a writer, and a feminist.

My work frequently takes me outside of the region, and I am always amused when my academic friends from the "elite," liberal schools of the northeast express surprise that the southern mountain states are producing active, independent, initiating, feminist women. I appreciate those academic friends; however it seems that many of those "learned, intellectual liberals" believe that women south of the Mason-Dixon line are still running around in hoopskirts and Scarlet O'Hara tresses smiling sweetly as they utter honey-coated phrases like, "oh dah-lin', ya'll come agin soon now, y'heah."

I'm tolerant of their misconceptions and ignorance, though, because I realize the extreme cultural deprivation that they have experienced in their upbringing. After all, when I encounter individuals who have been reared in such highly verbal environments that they can only intellectualize and talk about "being," instead of simply being; and when I realize that due to a regional snobbery, they have never visited the Appalachian mountains or been exposed to any of the positive aspects of mountain life; and then when I find out that they don't even know who Wilma Dykeman, Harriet Arnow, or Jesse Stuart are, I have to forgive them, because I realize how disadvantaged they are. I explained it once to a disadvantaged friend who had spent his entire forty-six years of life teaching and writing books in Cambridge, Massachusetts, by pointing out that, "It's easy for us country folk to get more learned, but you'll find it hard to get more 'down home.'"

I have come to feel very advantaged that, as a female, I had the opportunity to grow up in the mountains of Appalachia. If you'll travel back with me to the 40s and 50s, perhaps I can give you a glimpse of that experience.

I. Growin' Up Appalachian Style

Growin' up in Appalachia, for me, meant Williamson, West Virginia, which was the "Heart of the Billion Dollar Coal Field," county seat of "Bloody Mingo County," and the land of the famed Hatfield-McCoy feud.

Growin' up Appalachian style meant having lots of kin, including five uncles, two aunts, and twenty-four first cousins, just on my mother's side of the family, all of whom I knew and loved in a way most people today don't even know their sisters and brothers. Sunday afternoons (after church, of course), we'd all meet at my Granny's boarding house for a chicken and dumplin' dinner; and then if the kids had been good all week, we were allowed to go down town to a show at either the Logan, the Mingo, or the Cinderella theatre. Course, the one thing all of us kids knew was that even if we hadn't been good all week, we'd get to go anyway, 'cause the grown-ups wanted to be rid of us. It cost twenty cents to get in the show until you turned eleven, but I got by for twenty cents until I was fourteen because I was small.

On Sunday afternoons when nothing worth seeing was on at the show, we'd sit on Granny's porch and watch the goings-on across the street at what the grown-ups called the "Holy Roller" church. I remember seeing folks come and go all day long at that church, and I always wondered how they knew when they were supposed to leave because at our church, we had a benediction and then everybody talked to everybody else, and finally we'd all go home about the same time. But at the church across from Granny's, people sang real loud, clapped their hands, danced, yelled "Amen," and things like that, and, ever so often, somebody'd just come running out real fast. I

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* Appeared originally as three separate newspaper columns in the *Daily Beacon*, University of Tennessee campus newspaper, 1973.

never understood, but I remember thinking that they had a whole lot more fun at church than we did.

Growin' up in Appalachia meant being able to go up in the hills to play after school, learning to love watching the leaves change from buds to juicy lime green, to dusty forest green, to red and gold and bronze and yellow, and then hearing them crunch beneath my feet after I escaped from the school bus in the fall.

I remember how depressed I felt when I realized at age eight that I had to go to school for the rest of my life until I was grown up, and I didn't have a choice in the whole thing. I was depressed for days. But when I asked my Mom about it, she told me the same thing she had told me when I asked her why people kept working so hard all the time since they were just gonna die anyway, and why didn't they have more fun. She told me I was too young to think about things like that.

I remember wishing every winter that I lived up one of the remote "hollers," 'cause the school bus didn't run there when it snowed.

Growin' up Appalachian style meant learning not to complain about the specks of coal dirt that dropped on your face from the railroad engines as you walked down town because that meant prosperity; it meant knowing that strikes at Christmastime were the worst thing that could happen in the whole world, except for cave-ins; it meant believing that at the bottom of every valley was a river, a train track and a winding, narrow road, and it meant never thinking that one occurred without the other.

And, finally, growin' up in Appalachia meant winning a scholarship and going away to college and having everybody tell you how disadvantaged you were, when all along you thought it was all great.

It was only after I'd been away for awhile that I began to see the exploitation and injustices that had taken place in Appalachia during my lifetime. Once, while traveling home from college, I wrote a poem because my college English instructor had assigned the writing of a sonnet. Here are the thoughts that flowed from me at that time:

The sun sets on the West Virginia hills;
The valleys rest within the evening shade.
And though man brought the poverty and stills,
Yet, I can see the beauty that God made.

My heart lies heavy now within my breast
To know mankind could mar earth's beauty so.
My spirit weak, my soul filled with unrest,
I search for answers no one seems to know.

Is greed the cause that stripped the hills of trees,
And raked each mountain like a giant comb?
What brought the unschooled miner to his knees,
And made welfare the father in each home?

The saddest part—it gives my heart a chill—
To hear them say, "Oh well, it is God's will."

II. Growin' Up Female

I really can't say how growin' up female in Appalachia is different from growin' up female in other parts of the United States, since I never grew up any place else. But growin' up female, for me, meant spending hours playing Tarzan and Jane in the mountains and on the riverbank with my best friend, Freddie, and wondering why I always had to be Jane.

It meant learning to sneak away from the dinner table by saying, " 'scuse me, please," while Mama was busy talking to the other kids, so I could run and hide at the cinder block plant across the street, 'cause it was my turn to do the dishes.

It meant being born at just the right place in the birth order of six kids, so that it turned out I was the one who always had to drag a whole passel of little brothers and sisters and their friends to the cartoon and serial specials at the movie on Saturday morning, even though I felt I was too grown up to go.

It also meant having the responsibility of taking that same rambunctious crew shopping for presents for everybody in the family at Christmastime. It was a major task to keep them out of the road until the bus came, and I remember feeling successful if only one kid lost a billfold, and we didn't lose more than two of the packages we'd purchased. Seems funny to realize that most times each child never had more than two or three dollars to spend—altogether.

Growin' up female meant feeling it was unfair that my kid brother always got to ride shotgun in the car when the family went for Sunday afternoon rides. Somehow he'd learned early to expect his sisters to wait on him hand and foot, and growin' up female meant fighting with words, and just fighting, to teach him that girls were people, too.

When you're growin' up female and all the kids your own age around your house are boys, you learn survival tactics fast. I remember, when it snowed, always offering to be last-sled-on-the-whip coming down the hill, and all the boys thought I was so brave; but what they didn't know was that I dropped off halfway down the hill and came sliding to the foot all alone, but they never noticed because there was always a big smashup at the bottom. I remember, too, when I always ran faster than anybody my age until I was about twelve or thirteen—and, then all of a sudden, the boys started running faster. I just couldn't understand.

It was about that time that I noticed a little swelling about the size of a corn kernel on the left-hand-side of my chest. I remember sitting in bed looking down at my chest and praying, "Dear God, I don't care how big they get, but *please* let me have *two*."

From then on, things began to change. About that time was when Mama started saying that she didn't think it was right for me and Freddie to play alone in the hills anymore; and all the girls in band class who had been real happy playing saxophones and oboes started carrying batons around and talking about being majorettes. And, worst of all, they started giggling and smiling about those boys who'd been my best friends. About that time, I figured out that it wasn't gonna' be as easy being a tomboy as it had been in the past.

III. Growin' Up Feminist

I guess little girls from the mountains who grow up to be feminists do so for many of the same reasons other girls do. All I can say for certain, though, is that the first time I really got mad about it all was in the third grade when my teacher, Miss Brown, said that the girls had to wear dresses every day. How were we supposed to play on the monkey bars, slide down the playground hill on cardboard, and climb the trees out back—in dresses? What a silly rule! I remember getting around it by wearing the pants to my snowsuit under my dress almost every day during the winter, because snowpants were allowed.

And, then, of course, there was the thing about "patrol boys." I never really questioned that they should be called "patrol boys"—it was just that I wanted to be one—whatever they were called. It looked like such fun to be able to tell the big kids when they could and couldn't cross the street. But the rule was hard and fast—no matter how smart you were—girls couldn't help patrol!

Growin' up feminist meant beginning to notice more and more silly rules. And the rules were there, whether the grown-ups said 'em out loud or not. Like the first day of band class when my favorite teacher, who was my band director, suggested that the girls shouldn't play trumpet, trombone, or bass horn because we'd get fat lips. None of the boy trumpet players seemed to have fat lips, but that didn't seem to matter. So I settled for saxophone—and that squawky oboe.

But there was one advantage to playing saxophone; the "first-chair" saxophone player was automatically a member of the jazz band. So, when I won "first chair," I couldn't wait for the first meeting of jazz band! What a disappointment to walk into a roomful of boys who obviously didn't want a girl there. Why? I don't know. They gave silly reasons like, "Our trips won't be as much fun," and "Girls never have been in jazz band before," and "We can't tell dirty jokes now." It didn't seem to matter that I played a mean sax, and, besides that, I liked dirty jokes. Growin' up feminist meant having to prove to them that female sax players were human, too.

And, then, there were the times that really made me mad!

Like one spring after I'd been junior class president all year, and the student government election was coming up, and I announced that I was running for student body president, and one of the teachers informed me that girls couldn't run for student body president. I remember crying out in desperation, "Well, you'll have to show me in the United States Constitution where it says that!" I guess he knew as little about the Constitution as I did, because he backed down and allowed me to run. I ran, and I won. And that's when I began to get my first real understanding of politics. It hurt, of course, when I walked on the stage for our first assembly, and the boys yelled, "Who's gonna escort the Homecoming Queen?"

And, "Sharon, where's your suit and tie?"

But, all in all, I realize that it was a good training ground for the real world experiences which a woman encounters in our society. I guess that by growin' up female in the mountains, I learned survival tactics very early, and learning survival tactics is an important part of growin' up feminist, no matter where you grow up.

I've always felt that in one important way, growing up female in Appalachia meant growing up very advantaged, and, in this case, I'm referring to the marvelous female role models to whom I was exposed; women such as the Methodist preacher, the elementary school principal, the county sheriff, and the educational psychology professor at WVU—rare role models for young females at that time. Because of them, I actually grew up believing that girls could be anything they wanted when they grew up, if they were willing to work hard enough. And, even though the society at large has tried in many ways to teach me otherwise, it's been a hard lesson to unlearn.

After all, when you've got one granny who's a farmer, one granny who runs her own boarding house, an aunt who started her own seed and hardware store, and a mom who, in addition to being a secretary, writes poetry and songs, and swims faster than any boy, you've been taught to be a feminist through behaviors and life style. It doesn't matter that they can't explain the intellectual ideology or that they're a little leery of "women's lib." When a little girl has had a chance to learn strength, survival tactics, a firm grasp of reality, and an understanding of class oppression from the women around her, it doesn't remove oppression from her life, but it does give her a fighting chance. And that's an advantage!

Unit I
Lesson 2

APPALACHIAN WOMEN AS DEPICTED IN FICTION

INTRODUCTION

Although written analyses of the female experience in Appalachia are few, the works of fiction writers from the region are a rich source of information on mountain women's lives and character. Generally, Appalachian women are depicted as strong, family centered, nurturing, survival oriented, self-sacrificing and enduring. The strength and versatility portrayed in mountain women by the authors provides far more positive female role models for the readers than are provided when women in general are depicted in American fiction.

One might hypothesize a number of reasons in accounting for the emphasis on mountain women's strength and versatility. Perhaps fiction writers have romanticized mountain women. Perhaps the challenges of life in a region whose economic and social characteristics clearly resemble those of a colony of the United States have resulted in a genre of women superior in strength and versatility. Or perhaps, by depicting mountain women as always dauntless, strong and enduring, we can feel more comfortable in ignoring the oppression so pervasive in their lives, since —after all—they will endure.

This lesson will introduce the learner to the life and character of Appalachian women as depicted in fiction.

OBJECTIVE

To provide the student an opportunity to examine the life experiences and character of Appalachian women as depicted in fiction by Appalachian writers.

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FACILITATOR PREPARATION

Read the materials in this lesson carefully. Acquire copies of "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction" by Cratis Williams (reprinted in *Appalachian Journal*). Select learning activities appropriate for your learning/teaching situation. Examine the supplementary bibliography on Appalachian women included in Appendix B of this book.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Activity I: "Mountain Mothers"

Assign the reading of "Mountain Mothers" (included with this lesson). Students should discuss the following questions:

1. What are the characteristics of mountain women portrayed by the writers reviewed in "Mountain Mothers"?
2. How are the circumstances of the lives of the various female characters similar? How are they different?
3. In what ways are the female characters powerful? In what ways are they powerless?
4. Why do you think history books seldom treat the lives of women such as these as "historically significant"?

Activity II: "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction"

Assign the reading of "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction" (Williams, 1975-76). The following questions may be used in reviewing and analyzing the work:

1. How does Williams portray mountain women?
2. Can we learn equally about female and male mountaineers by studying the works reviewed by Williams? Why, or why not?
3. As depicted by Williams, how do the lives of mountain women in fiction compare with the lives of mountain women in fact?

Activity III: Additional Fiction Works

Learners can further analyze the life experiences and character of Appalachian women by choosing additional fiction works from the supplementary bibliography on Appalachian women in Appendix B of this book. The questions in Activity I of this lesson could be used to structure the analyses.

APPALACHIAN WOMEN AS DEPICTED IN FICTION

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* Required readings for this lesson. See Section II of supplementary bibliography on Appalachian women (Appendix B of this book) for extensive listing on Appalachian women and fiction.

APPENDIX: READINGS AND WORKSHEETS

ACTIVITY I: MOUNTAIN MOTHERS*

A paper dedicated to Dr. Cratis Williams, a man who admires and appreciates the mountain woman

BY ALICE W. BROWN

Cratis Williams concludes his dissertation, "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction," with a paragraph which begins: "But through all the fiction, the mountaineer remained essentially the same."[1] The last of the Appalachian novels analyzed by Dr. Williams in the dissertation was published in 1954 and was set in World War II. Since the 1940s, life has changed considerably in most sections of rural Appalachia, as well as in most metropolitan areas; as Dr. Williams himself says, "The old life of the mountains is no more."[2] Dr. Williams also suggests that few mountaineers can survive the bitterness and suffering of contemporary life and "still retain very many of the old virtues which in the past have differentiated the highlanders from other Americans."[3] However, a brief look at some of the contemporary fiction coming out of Appalachia suggests that, with regard to the feminine sex in the literature, Dr. Williams' original thesis still holds true: throughout Appalachian fiction—that of the past and that of the present—the mountain woman remains much the same as she has always been, despite the fact that the life around her has changed and is changing. Her love of home and family and her strength and resourcefulness, even in the face of overwhelmingly difficult circumstances, continue to make her an admirable example of womankind.

Many male writers, such as James Still, Wendell Berry and Jesse Stuart, have presented moving and accurate illustrations of that spirit typical of Appalachia women; yet the writers who obviously best know and best understand the mountain woman are mountain women themselves. Three such women—Harriette Arnow, Wilma Dykeman and Jane Stuart—have written of both the traditional stereotyped Appalachian women and the contemporary mountain woman living in an age with pace and values quite different from those of her foremothers. Yet the contemporary mountain woman has maintained the virtues of courage and patience and sensitivity through suffering different from and far more difficult than that endured by her ancestors. The Appalachian mother of the past was insulated from problems of the outside world by her mountains; the modern mountain mother does not have this protection. Still, as Arnow, Dykeman and Stuart have shown in their writings about Appalachia, although the archetypal mountain woman may disappear for awhile, her love and strength are imperishable and reappear in succeeding generations.

Harriette Arnow's *The Dollmaker* (1954), the last book to be discussed in Dr. Williams' dissertation, introduces Gertie Nevels from Ballow, Kentucky. Gertie's first appearance in the novel is as the stereotyped mountain mother—large, engaging despite her lack of beauty, and determined—saving her small son from choking to death by cutting into his windpipe with her whittling knife. When Gertie's husband, Clovis, leaves the mountains in search of a war job in Detroit, Gertie makes plans to stay in Kentucky and prepare a home for him to return to. She is, however, soon shamed by her mother into joining her husband in Detroit to keep the family together; little does Gertie know how together the family will be when she and Clovis and their five children are crammed into one of the hastily built hovels near the factory where Clovis works.

Still, even transplanted from her native Laurel County, Gertie remains strong and resourceful through unceasing troubles and tragedies. In the housing district ironically named Merry Hill, the food is costly but bad.

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*Reprinted with permission from *Twigs*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (Fall, 1976).

"I wouldn't mind so much," she once comments, "if'n all that money ud buy a egg that was real fresh er some good fresh meal."[4] Her poorly constructed house is small and hard to clean, with the neighboring factories and railroad yards constantly pouring filth through her doors and windows. Her children find school difficult until they learn to adjust—"Leastways not too good."[5] Finally her tragedies climax with the death of one of her young children, Cassie, run over by a train in the yards near their house, and with the loss of the money she has saved to buy the Kentucky farm of her dreams. Gertie offers the money, hidden in the torn lining of her coat, for a chance to hold Cassie's mutilated body and to return it to the family burial grounds in the mountains. But Clovis takes the money for the clothes and casket needed for Cassie's burial in a public cemetery in Detroit, explaining that "It ain't like back home . . . ."[6] Ultimately even Gertie's natural talent for carving is corroded: when Clovis goes on strike periodically she is forced to bring money into the household by making not the careful, intricate dolls and sculptures she loves carving and takes pride in selling, but cheap imitations made with a power saw Clovis has devised for her. While Gertie is forced into a mold to survive the poverty and destruction of the city, she never loses that courage or strength typical of mountain women—the strength mentioned by Lydia McQueen in Wilma Dykeman's *The Tall Woman:* "It's not the ease to do less that we need; I reckon we need strength to do what we can."[7] She never loses that love of home and earth and children typical of mountain mothers. Exhausted from her work and emotional turmoil, she still cleans the hovel, recognizing all the while that "no matter what she did [the disorder and dirt] would be there again tomorrow and all the days after."[8] She nurses her asters and marigolds through the destructive tramplings of neighborhood children since the flowers are her only direct contact with the earth. Repeatedly she wonders about her children and their futures: "What was the good of trying to keep your own if when they grew up their days were like your own—changeovers and ugly painted dolls?"[9]

The children, like Gertie, sacrifice much of themselves to the capitalistic society into which they have been moved. The oldest boy, Rueben, unable to cope with the city, escapes to return to Kentucky; and the middle boy, Enoch, finds real delight in peddling Gertie's dolls and in bargaining for scrap lumber for her. Of the children old enough to make important decisions, it is only Clytie, the surviving daughter, who never ceases to be unselfishly sensitive to the needs of the family. She earns money by babysitting and by housecleaning, and her last appearance in the novel is to offer her carfare when she senses that Gertie is worried about the family's finances. Gertie's final act, though one of destruction, is also one of love: she sacrifices the cherry block of wood she has carried with her from Kentucky for carving a Jesus; she has it butchered into boards from which she can cut the dolls and other designs which will be sold to provide food and shelter for her family. Even Joyce Carol Oates, who finds the novel unredeemably depressing, admits that at the end of the story, despite all she has suffered and endured, "Gertie is still Gertie."[10]

Published since *The Dollmaker,* Arnow's *The Weedkiller's Daughter* (1973) also describes a life in Detroit; but this time the Detroit described is that of Eden Hills, a plush subdivision, not the slums surrounding the steel mills. The central character is fifteen-year-old Susie Schnitzer, not from the hills but exhibiting that love of nature, creativity and resourcefulness necessary to survive life typical in the hills (although Susie's situation involves primarily emotional survival rather than physical survival). Surrounded by an extremist right-wing father (referred to by Susie as Bismarck) and a vain, artificial mother (referred to by Susie as the Popsicle Queen), Susie's love and admiration go to her lower-middle-class, foreign-born relatives, who are denounced and forbidden to her by her parents; to Lulu, the Polish maid; and to the hillbilly lady (nicknamed The Primitive by Susie) who owns a farm near Bismarck's estate and who fights constantly against Bismarck's weedkilling campaigns. The Primitive allows Susie the pleasures of giving hay to hungry animals in a large, hip-roofed barn. "Going into it, she [Susie] always felt she was entering a favorite church."[11] The one drawn-from-Appalachia family presented in the book, the

Weatherfords, is indicative of the fact that although one generation may lose those qualities and values natural to the archetypal mountain woman, other generations will revive them. The daughter, Mary Lou, reveals that she is as sincere in her fight against the materialism and narrow prejudices of her mother and of Susie's mother as Susie herself is. It is Mary Lou who warns a young former professor, now medical technician, that he is about to be attacked as a communist by her family. And it is Mary Lou who becomes physically ill after sitting through a supper of gibberish and pretentions.

In 1962 Wilma Dykeman published *The Tall Woman* and presented the epitome of mountain mothers—Lydia McQueen. As Lydia's own mother says to her:

> *"Surely a woman has strange ways. The heart makes its own logic, I reckon; nothing like the logic your papa talks about from all his books. It's made known to anybody who can give herself to being loved and bringing children. And who can ever tell what it means to have given yourself in these mountains? A mountain mother—" She broke off. Tears glistened in her eyes, making her face appear even more wan and otherworldly. "You're our mountain girl, Lydia, and our natural-born mother," she said.*[12]

When her husband goes off to war, Lydia takes care of herself, her small cabin, her cow and her unborn baby; later when her mother, Sarah, is injured by passing renegades, she moves into her mother's home to take care of the ailing woman and the five children still living there. When her husband, Mark, finally returns after a long stay at the prison camps of Andersonville, she nurses him through his periods of depression and bitterness, speaking impatiently to him only once—when he sacrifices the cow Pearly to his pride in order to have his own food on the table to feed friends coming to raise his barn. David, Lydia's firstborn and retarded as the result of a drunken doctor's refusal to deliver the breeched baby, brings Lydia's maternal instincts clearly into focus: she is patient and loving and careful with all of the child's slowness. The night he dies of pneumonia, she rocks his still body in "silent, stricken grief";[13] but even from his loss, the greatest of all losses for a mother (as Arnow also suggests in *The Dollmaker*), Lydia quickly recovers, knowing that "her other children had a right to joy."[14] She supports these other four through the problems of growing up, overcoming illnesses and getting an education in a community which has no public school until she starts one. And, as Lydia experiences the loss of a child much as Gertie does, both Lydia and her mother express their hopes and fears for their children much as Gertie does. Sarah says: "I've never held with craving women . . . . But I have craved one thing: for you children to see better times than ours. Could I a-brushed every tangle-bramble and stumble-stone out of your way, I'd have crawled to do it ere this."[15] Lydia later expresses the same concern for her offspring: "But I want my children to go to a schoolhouse and have a proper teacher. I long for them to amount to something."[16] Yet, through all the labor of keeping a home and garden, helping her husband farm, bearing her own children and serving as a midwife to other women, she never complains. She has, as Dykeman says early in the book, "large strength, a core buried deep within her that would refuse to be daunted by the outrageous blows or the niggling trifles human life was heir to."[17]

Lydia's love and appreciation of nature is revealed when she discovers her ginseng plants torn up: "Lydia was heartsick. The money from this bed had been important to her, but it was not of the money she thought now. It was the complete destruction of this beautiful thing that agitated her."[18] Her love of the earth leads, ironically, to her death some thirty years after her marriage. Returning from helping her eldest daughter, Martha, deliver her second child (Ivy), Lydia asks to stop by a spring she has remembered from childhood. A pile of rotting sawdust, left from a sawmill which has recently stripped the timber from a section of the woods, pollutes the spring, but Lydia is unaware of the dangers as she cleans debris from the pool and drinks. Days later, dying from typhoid, just after deliriously claiming that she heard an owl call her name, she begs Mark not to kill the bird.

But it is the sequel to *The Tall Woman* which shows that the love and the determination of the mountain mother cannot be completely destroyed even by a society which treasures possessions and prestige above all else. In *The Far Family* (1966) Dykeman reintroduces Ivy, the last child born in *The Tall Woman*. Ivy, now a widow who has returned to the homeplace to take care of her aging mother, realizes that "She had never really left the farm . . . . [The] feel of earth, of woods, of weather in the hills, was part of her and would always be part, as indivisible as skin, as air she breathed."[19] Like the other mountain mothers, she remains patient, loving (or at least hospitable), and strong throughout a family crisis: a gathering to try to save brother Clay from a murder charge.

Ivy, again like the other mothers, wonders about her child and his future. Even though Phil is a successful lawyer and potential candidate for senator, his mother wonders if she has provided him with the capacity for joy. And she, even more so than the other mountain mothers, is extremely conscientious about her housework. While Ivy is growing up, her mother is ill much of the time; and the other members of the family welcome Ivy s frequent cleaning sprees:

> *They spoke of the clear lamp chimneys glistening from the soapy water in which she washed them, the tidy living room, the polished brass bedsteads, the rearrangement of the kitchen with pans hanging along one wall and dishes organized in the cupboards. She was glad they enjoyed letting her do it; she found deep satisfaction in bringing some pattern out of the careless accumulation of their disarray.*[20]

In *The Far Family* are chapters entitled "Yesterday," covering the generation between Lydia McQueen and Ivy—that of Martha Thurston. What Martha lacks in physical health she makes up for in inner strength; " . . . even Martha's family often underestimated her determination . . . . She was, from some source deep within herself, gravely dignified and refined."[21] When her husband lies injured by his saw mill, the men who have been working with him simply stand around the mill and await the arrival of Martha: "She'll know what to do . . . .," they say.[22] Just as Gertie longs to return to her Kentucky home, as Lydia loves her homeland, and as Ivy returns to the farm she feels she has never completely left, so Martha convinces her family to allow her the homeplace once her parents are dead. Martha has a feeling for "aged places, familiar paths."[23] Like Gertie, she would have been happy with "just a bit of land and house without grandeur, without worry, without debt."[24]

A fourth generation is presented in *The Far Family* with the introduction of Lucy Kate, niece to Ivy, and Sherry Austin, a young woman outside the family but close in many ways to Phil Cortland. These two women suggest that pride and snobbery are not qualities to which women reared in the mountains or by mountain mothers are immune. But Phoebe, sister to Ivy and mother to Lucy Kate and one who herself has at times wished to reject the simplicity and drudgery of her youth, answers this pride and rejection when she tells Lucy Kate:

> *. . . [You] don't have some silly sentimental legend for a heritage. You have real flesh-and-blood people who ought to make anyone stand tall . . .*
>
> *You had a great-grandmother who was as strong as these hills, and you ought to thank God that she milked and worked in the fields and drudged for her family and her community instead of sitting around protecting her lily-white flesh, asking to be waited on. She wasn't served. She served . . .*
>
> *And your grandpa, and your grandma Thurston who is lying back home . . . they were mortal human beings with a lot of living to be done and they did it without whining or being ashamed or being worried too much about what other people thought. They had a place in this world. They carved it for themselves, and although you and some of your friends might not think it very important or valuable, it was both to them. They knew who they were.*[25]

From grandmother Lydia McQueen to granddaughter Ivy Cortland, with Martha Thurston spotlighted between, Wilma Dykeman has vividly presented a range of

mountain women who speak visually and verbally of the strength and resourcefulness and love which are dominant in mountain mothers—those of the past and those of the present. All the women learn the lesson, and they learn it early, which Martha Thurston explains after hearing of the death of her son Clay: "We have to learn—if you live on the land long you do learn—to last, to survive. Folks in the cities may find short cuts, tricks, easy ways to bypass or soften calamity. I don't know. But the only way I know is what Aunt Tildy used to tell me: Tough it out. Endure."[26]

Jane Stuart, daughter of famed Kentuckian Jesse Stuart, has two novels set in Appalachia. The first, *Yellowhawk* (1973), somewhat on the order of *Winesburg, Ohio*, presents a series of tales surrounding the faculty, staff, and students of Yellowhawk, a small elementary school in eastern Kentucky. The stories all supposedly come from one of the faculty members—Rhoda Miller, now temporarily retired from teaching to await the birth of her first child. Rhoda has come through her own personal tragedies, being first a seventeen-year-old unhappy wife and later a young widow, guilt-ridden because she was the driver of the car in which her husband died. But Rhoda has learned, as have many other Appalachian women, to "tough it out." With a job at Yellowhawk she is forced to return to the highways and to the activities of living. When the novel opens, she has finally remarried and is beginning to think of her yet-to-be-born baby much as other mountain mothers think of their children: "I don't want her to have to learn everything the hard way, the way I sometimes catch myself thinking that I did."[27] By calling the unborn child "her," Rhoda indicates a second hope that the baby be a girl.

There are nineteen stories in *Yellowhawk* besides that of Rhoda Miller, and fifteen deal with the experiences of Appalachian women or girls. Rosalina Scaggs has been strong externally but her guilt and suffering for her dead lover and two of his five children, all burned to death in a smokehouse flame which she witnessed, finally drive her insane. But Rosalina keeps her fears sealed inside herself and her cabin on the hill, and she is able to teach and to live a somewhat normal life until she herself is killed in one of the flash floods which frequent the mountain area where she lives. Jenny Jones, leaving the hills for college, meets and marries another student, a Catholic boy who is not from the hills. Her fundamentalist parents denounce the marriage and force Jenny to return home with them, where they isolate her until she finally comes to accept the fact that she will never again see the one person who can give her happiness and peace of mind. Zanie France, who believes in doing nothing except working and praising the Lord, meets the test of her religion by handling a copperhead which her husband hides under her pillow one night. Although the story of Horsey Hilda Redfurn borders on satire, it provides one of the best illustrations of a mountain woman's courage and resourcefulness in the book. Hilda makes up her mind to marry Iris McQuarter, basketball coach at the local high school; and she is not easily dissuaded even after Iris marries someone else. In the course of waiting for him to become eligible again, Hilda earns her bachelor's degree, her master's and her doctorate; she starts a chapter of the women's liberation movement and begins a free university. Her efforts are finally rewarded when the townspeople convince Iris to marry Hilda to shut her up. Despite the suggestions of satire against liberated women, Hilda must be admired for determination, for she successfully reaches her goal.

Other stories in *Yellowhawk* examine the lives of young girls in the region and how they — like their mountain mothers — through fantasy or resignation learn to endure. They learn to accept death and loneliness, poverty and rejection: retarded Tullie, praising Jesus for sending the bastard son to whom her mother has just given birth; Edna, able to reject the boy she has expected to marry when he repentently returns to her from an affair with another woman; Glenda, forced to go away with a religious fanatic preacher-father who wants to protect his son from the scandal of being the father of Glenda's unborn baby; twelve-year-old Loretta, taking care of her widowed father and kind-hearted eighteen-year-old cousin until the cousin is hanged for murder; and Arnaldis, enjoying her youthful daydreams, is also determined

to grow up to be a teacher at Yellowhawk and make the townspeople and her father so proud of her that they will forget that her dying mother had gone to spend her last few months with another man.

Much like an extended story from *Yellowhawk*, Jane Stuart's second novel, *Passerman's Hollow* (1974), concerns Rebecca Lawson, thirteen-year-old sister to retarded Ruben, and her kindness to her mentally tormented brother as well as to her equally disturbed uncle: "Only Rebecca watched her uncle with understanding, tears of pity in her eyes."[28] The book treats the life of a mountain family; but the gothic plot, centering on the mysterious disappearance of one of Becky's girlfriends, overshadows the characterizations. Since the story focuses primarily on the children in Passerman's Hollow, the Appalachian women who do appear are seen mainly as they reveal their concern for their children. Hilda Mason, determined to protect her son Ruben against his father and against the accusations of others, plots: "I'll beat him [her husband] at his own game . . . . If he wants Ruben to go away, he can go. But I'll be the one to send him away. I'll send for Colby Chaser [her stepfather] in the morning."[29] And Myra Adkins, mother to the missing girl, seeks relief from her grief by washing the clothes of the daughter she believes dead: "If she was not pleased with the way the dresses hung, she took them down, shook them again, and pinned them back, smoothing out sleeves, pulling down skirts, touching each piece of wet, damp cloth with all the love and gentleness that she had once given Carla."[30] These women, like the others discussed, have learned to "tough it out."

Gertie Nevels, Lydia McQueen, Martha Thurston, Ivy Cortland, and a whole series of other women in contemporary Appalachian literature—all have many of those qualities with which Appalachian heroines through the ages have been credited: they are all strong, hardworking and stoic; and they all have a deep love of earth, of home, and of children. This statement does not suggest that none of the women in Appalachia are slovenly, ignorant, indifferent, or selfish or that only Appalachian women are strong and maternal; it does imply that the literature of the latter half of the twentieth century suggests, as does that of the previous hundred years, that the essential character of the Appalachian women has not changed since women moved into Appalachia. Possibly an examination of the lives of some flesh-and-blood Appalachian women, such as Arnow, Dykeman or Stuart, would reveal that in fact as well as in fiction mountain women are strong, determined and resourceful. However, all that can be concluded about the actual women from reading about the fictitious ones is that the real-life ladies have talent. Dr. Williams says that "no writer of fiction before Mrs. Arnow had ever understood so well the genuine depths of the mountain woman's character nor come so close to rendering a true account of her position at the center of the retarded social order the burden of which she bears."[31] He could now well name Wilma Dykeman and Jane Stuart with Harriette Arnow.

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[1]Cratis Williams, "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1961), p. 1602.

[2]Ibid., p. 1592.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Harriette Arnow, *The Dollmaker* (New York: Avon, 1974), p. 212.

[5]Ibid., p. 207.

[6]Ibid., p. 417.

[7]Wilma Dykeman, *The Tall Woman* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962), p. 137.

[8]Arnow, *The Dollmaker*, p. 503.

[9]Ibid., pp. 503-504.

[10]"Joyce Carol Oates on Harriette Arnow's *The Dollmaker*," Afterword to *The Dollmaker*, p. 606.

[11]Harriette Arnow, *The Weedkiller's Daughter* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), p. 303.

[12]Dykeman, *The Tall Woman*, p. 131.
[13]Ibid., p. 214.
[14]Ibid., p. 216.
[15]Ibid., pp. 15-16.
[16]Ibid., p. 96.
[17]Ibid., p. 91.
[18]Ibid., p. 208.
[19]Wilma Dykeman, *The Far Family* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966) p. 14.
[20]Ibid., pp. 64-65.
[21]Ibid., p. 102.
[22]Ibid., p. 291.
[23]Ibid., p. 104.
[24]Ibid., p. 119.
[25]Ibid., pp. 363-364.
[26]Ibid., p. 365.
[27]Jane Stuart, *Yellowhawk* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 176.
[28]Jane Stuart, *Passerman's Hollow* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), p. 86.
[29]Ibid., p. 56.
[30]Ibid., p. 92.
[31]Williams, p. 1560.

UNIT II

SEX ROLES IN APPALACHIA

Unit II
Lesson 3

INTRODUCTION TO SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

In order to examine sex roles in Appalachian culture, the learner should first examine sex roles in American society at large. This lesson provides a brief introduction to sex roles in American society. Book I of this series, *Understanding Sex Roles and Moving Beyond*, provides an in-depth analysis of sex roles in American society.

The current socialization process in American society dictates that sex should be a major factor in the determination of one's personality traits, behaviors, interests, and career/life plans. This concept is embodied in the terms, "masculinity" and "femininity," which not only exemplify the presumed differences between males and females, but also the very essence of sex-role stereotypes.

The purposes of this lesson are to enhance students' awareness of sex-role stereotypes and to initiate an exploration of the effects of sex-role stereotypes on human development. The lesson includes materials and activities which (1) introduce the concept of sex-role stereotypes, (2) present the basic vocabulary for comprehending the sex-role literature, (3) summarize the theories explaining sex-role development, (4) examine arguments supporting the perpetuation of sex roles, and (5) provide a vehicle for students' exploration of the relationship between sex-role stereotypes and their own self-concepts.

OBJECTIVES

1. **To be able to describe the essential characteristics of the male and female sex roles in American society.**
2. **To be able to articulate the difference between gender identity and sex-role assignment.**
3. **To be able to define socialization, sex role, sexism, patriarchy, feminism, and women's studies.**

Pages 37, 38 - blank

4. **To be able to explain the following theories of sex-role development:**
   a. **Social learning**
   b. **Psychoanalytic**
   c. **Cognitive developmental**
   d. **Sociological**
   e. **Anthropological**
5. **To be able to discuss three arguments used to justify traditional male and female sex roles:**
   a. **Free will**
   b. **Biology**
   c. **Complementarity**
6. **To be able to explain some effects of sex-role stereotyping on human development.**

FACILITATOR PREPARATION

Read the entries in the bibliography marked with an asterisk. Review the objectives and learning activities, and select those most appropriate for your learning/teaching situation. Assign student readings.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Activity I: Pink or Blue: Defining Sex Roles (Objectives 1, 2 and 3)

This exercise is designed to initiate the examination of male and female sex-role expectations by identifying the characteristics associated with each role. The exercise becomes more meaningful when students compare the two stereotypic sex-role descriptions with the characteristics listed as representative of adult mental health. This is an excellent introduction to sex-role stereotyping which can be followed by focusing on the group members' sex-role expectations for themselves and others.

1. Divide the class into three groups. Assign each group one of the following stimulus cues: feminine, masculine, healthy adult.
2. Ask students to list adjectives that they feel have traditionally described their assigned group. The group designated "healthy adult" will have to make value judgments, as they decide which traits best describe a healthy adult (i.e., self-actualizing person, fully functioning

person). These adjectives can describe behaviors, appearance, personality traits, attitudes, aptitudes, and occupational pursuits.

3. After the lists are complete, compare the feminine, masculine, and healthy adult adjectives by listing them on the blackboard. Representative discussion questions include:
   a. How are the lists similar?
   b. How are they different?
   c. Which of these traits are results of gender identity and which are results of sex-role assignments?
   d. What is the difference between the two?
   e. Which adjectives describing masculine and feminine do you think are unhealthy?
   f. Of those traits considered healthy for one sex, which are also healthy for the other sex? Why or why not?
4. Ask students to read "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health" (Broverman et al., 1970).
5. Compare the results of the class activity with the findings discussed in the Broverman article.

Related Media: An excellent filmstrip to accompany this activity is "The Labels: Femininity and Masculinity," Part I of the National Education Association Sex-Role Stereotyping Kit. (See Suggested Media Resources.)

Activity II: Baby X: A "Class" Question (Objectives 1 and 2)

1. Ask students to read "Baby X" (Gould, 1972).
2. "Baby X" is the story of a child whose gender identity is known only to the child's parents and doctors. Possible discussion questions are:
   a. How would you have reacted as X's teacher?
   b. What reasons can you give for wanting (or not wanting) your child to play with X?
   c. What do you think of the reaction of the PTA?
   d. How do you think parents would react to teachers who attempt to reduce stereotypic behaviors?

Activity III: Pictures Worth a Thousand Words (Objectives 1 and 2)

To reinforce the discussions from Activities I and II, request that students bring an example of sex-role stereotyping from current media to each class session. A graphic portrayal of sex-role stereotypes can thereby be compiled for a bulletin board or blank wall in the learning space.

Related Reading: Pages 30-68 in *Masculine, Feminine or Human* (Chafetz, 1974).
Related Media: "Men and Women, Myths and Stereotypes." (See Suggested Media Resources.)

Activity IV: Definition of Terms (Objective 4)

1. Students should read the "Definition of Terms" reading included with this lesson.
2. Briefly explain the terms; then conduct a group discussion using the questions accompanying each term.

Activity V: The Earth Is Flat: Analyses of Theories (Objectives 5 and 6)

1. Ask students to read "Explanations for Sex-Role Development" (Duberman, 1975) and "Training the Woman to Know Her Place" (Bem and Bem, 1971).
2. Explain the five theories presented in the assigned reading, "Explanations for Sex-Role Development" (Duberman, 1975).
3. Following the explanation, ask members of the group to critically react to the theories.
4. Describe three common arguments which support the perpetuation of differentiated sex roles: (a) free will, (b) biology, and (c) complementarity. These are contained in "Training the Woman to Know Her Place" (Bem and Bem, 1971).

Activity VI: "What If . . .?" (Objective 7)

Ask each student to write a one-page essay entitled, "How My Life Would Have Been Different if I Were the Opposite Sex." Suggest that the students include different life situations they would have experienced and accounts of how they would feel they "should be" acting now. Process this experience in small groups where every student shares the written essay with others.

Activity VII: Class Discussion (Objectives 1-7)

Facilitate a class discussion by using the following review questions:

1. What is the difference between maleness and masculinity? Femaleness and femininity? What is the difference between gender identity and sex-role assignment?
2. What behaviors are traditionally considered "feminine" in sex-role assignment in Western culture?
3. What behaviors are traditionally considered "masculine" in Western culture?
4. What do each of the following theories contend about sex-role development?
   a. Social learning
   b. Psychoanalytic
   c. Cognitive developmental
   d. Sociological
   e. Anthropological
5. Explain the following common arguments used to justify the perpetuation of sex roles:
   a. Free will
   b. Biology
   c. Complementarity

INTRODUCTION TO SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

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* Basic readings for this lesson.

APPENDIX: READINGS AND WORKSHEETS

ACTIVITY IV: DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. *Socialization.* The learning process through which people acquire socially approved behaviors for their roles or places in society. In American culture there are many socializing institutions such as the nuclear family, religion, and the educational system.

   Discussion Questions:

   - When does the child's socialization begin?
   - Which institution do you think has the greatest influence on a newborn child and why?

2. *Role.* A constellation of behaviors associated with a specific position within a culture. Role behavior originates from learned expectations of how people should behave and the consequent rewards from other people. Changing role behavior often breeds conflict between need for approval and fear of loneliness.

   Discussion Questions:

   - What are the different roles you play?
   - What expectations have you learned to associate with each role?

3. *Sex Role.* A particular constellation of behaviors associated with being either male or female. Like all role behavior, male and female sex-role behavior is complementary. In other words, when we talk about woman's role, the complementary man's role is implicit (i.e., what woman isn't, man is). That is why changing or eliminating female roles will result in changes in male roles. As men and women begin to develop an awareness of sex roles, they can begin to focus on self-development rather than role importance.

   Discussion Questions:

   - How did you first know that you were a "boy" or a "girl"?
   - Where did you learn this information?
   - What behaviors did your family expect of you because of your sex?
   - What significant event in your childhood made it clear to you that certain behaviors were expected of you because you were a little girl or boy?

4. *Sexism.* A belief that the human sexes have a distinctive makeup that determines their respective lives. It is a belief in sex-role stereotypes and it usually involves the notion that one sex is superior to and has the right to rule or have advantage over the other.

   Discussion Questions:

   - Describe some sexist practices that you observe every day.
   - Can you think of any sexist practices that you engage in every day?

5. *Feminism.* A philosophy which (a) stresses the freeing of all people from the restrictions of their culturally defined sex roles and (b) focuses on balancing out the centuries of negation of female energy by the positive assertion and development of it in the world today. It seeks a model of integration rather than the artificial polarities imposed by our culture such as mind/body, work/play, and personal/political. (Rush and Mander, 1974.)

   Discussion Questions:

   - What is the image of a "feminist" as typically depicted in the news media?
   - Define the word "feminism."
   - How do you feel about the term "feminist"?
   - Can you give specific examples from your own life of the arbitrary separation of work and play—the separation of body and mind?

6. *Women's Studies.* An effort to make visible and available to students and teachers a body of knowledge that has been denied to American students in the past. This body of knowledge deals not only with the history, psychology, and sociology of women, but also with the politics of being female in a society where white, middle-class, male dominance has been the rule. Women's studies call for the creation of new courses and the revision of existing courses to encourage the elimination of sex-role stereotyping and to introduce new perspectives related to the changing roles of men and women. (Lord, 1974.)

   Discussion Questions:

   - What are the available women's studies courses on this campus?
   - Can you think of other such courses that are needed?

7. *Patriarchy.* A society in which males dominate the societal institutions and in which male norms for behaviors are more highly valued and rewarded than those behaviors traditionally ascribed for females.

   Discussion Questions:

   - What institutions in Western society are patriarchal?
   - How are these institutions patriarchal?
   - How do you think the patriarchal structures in American society could be changed?

Unit II
Lesson 4

HISTORICAL SEX ROLES IN APPALACHIA

INTRODUCTION

A historical examination of sex roles in Appalachia reveals distinct differences in the experiences, behaviors and role expectations of females and males. Writers who observed the people of the region in the late 1800's and early 1900's describe a patriarchal culture in which the male role afforded much more freedom and power in the public domain than did the female role.

Every writer surveyed describes the female role as demanding, fraught with hardships and a great deal of physical labor. The mountain woman, although normally described as strong and resilient, the mainstay of the family, was usually expected to passively accept a lifetime of domestic work and garden maintenance with little or no technological assistance. Responsibility for child rearing was also a part of her role; to her belonged the work related to the children's health, clothing, food, and often educational needs.

The few women who pursued work options in the public sphere were usually involved in human services such as education, midwifery, and health care. These women were also expected to be responsible for the traditional, domestic work tasks in their homes, as well. In a survival-oriented subculture, the female mountaineer was required to be engaged in a wide variety of work tasks, seven days a week, for the duration of her healthy life; and there was no work task that women, out of necessity, did not do.

Before industrialization came to the region, the role of the male mountaineer usually required his involvement in a variety of basic work tasks: logging, raising crops such as hay and corn, raising cattle or sheep, and hunting, as well as sometimes serving as carpenter, horseman, miller and toolmaker. Trading was the basis of the economy for the more isolated mountaineers until the mid-1800's, and depending on the size of the community within which he traded, the male mountaineer had to be involved in fewer or more of the basic survival tasks.

The male role placed fewer restrictions on behavior than did the female role in practically all areas—sexuality, morality, travel, language, and access to the public sphere of life in the mountain community. The stereotyped image of "the mountaineer" who made moonshine and who, carrying his musket over his shoulder, always

took the law in his own hands is just that—a stereotype of the mountaineer—and a male stereotype, at that. However, aggressive social behaviors and misbehaviors were tolerated much more readily in men than in women,as the male role allowed a much greater latitude for acceptable behavior.

This lesson is designed to examine historical sex roles in Appalachia; to examine life experiences of *the mountaineer—female and male.*

OBJECTIVES

To develop an understanding of historical sex roles in Appalachia and to relate sex-role assignment to the experiences of women and men in the development of the Appalachian region.

FACILITATOR PREPARATION

Review Lesson 3, Introduction to Sex-Role Stereotyping in American Society. Ideally, also review Book I of this learning/teaching series, *Understanding Sex Roles and Moving Beyond.* Read the materials in this lesson and the articles marked with an asterisk in the bibliography. Select the learning activities most appropriate for your learning/teaching situation.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Activity I:

1. Assign the following readings:
   a. "Historical Sex Roles in Appalachia" (Patton-Crowder), included in this lesson.
   b. "Section I: A Simpler Time" in *Our Appalachia* (Shackelford and Weinberg, 1977).
2. Give the following instructions to the students: Imagine you are an adult mountain person living during 1900-1930. Form a mental image of yourself and your surroundings—i.e., home, economic status, position in the community, marital status, countryside, means of transportation, societal restrictions and expectations. In view of these factors, list five activities in which you would be engaged if you were a member of the opposite sex.
3. Then lead the discussion with questions such as:
   a. Describe your fantasy (from step 2). First, give your activities as your sex and then as the opposite sex.

b. What kinds of living conditions existed in the mountains from 1900-1930?

c. What were the activities of the females?

d. What were the activities of the males?

e. How were the activities alike? Different?

f. What determined your activities?

g. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each group of activities from your perspective? Why?

h. Which group of activities would you have enjoyed most? Why?

i. If you had chosen to engage in opposite-sex activities, what reactions would you have expected?

j. In what ways were sex roles in Appalachia different from those in America at large?

4. Conclude the discussion with questions such as:

a. How would you define the female sex role of a typical mountain woman living during 1900-1930?

b. How would you define the male sex role for the same time?

c. What socialization processes taught appropriate role behavior?

d. How did females learn behaviors "appropriate" for females?

e. How did males learn behaviors "appropriate for males?"

f. Which role had greater freedom?

g. Which role involved more choice?

h. Which had more political influence?

i. Do you think a patriarchy existed in Appalachia at that time? If so, in what ways was the patriarchal system in Appalachia similar to or different from patriarchy in the dominant middle-class American culture?

Activity II:

1. Assign the reading of:

   The Southern Highlander and His Homeland (Campbell, 1969). (Read Preface, Foreword, Introduction, and Chapter 7.)

   Our Southern Highlander (Kephart, 1976). (Read Preface, Foreword, Introduction, and Chapters 13, 14, and 15.)

   The Spirit of the Mountains (Miles, 1975). (Read Foreword, Introduction, and Chapters 1, 2, and 3.)

2. After the students have read the reading assignments, divide the class into three discussion groups. Ask one person in each group to act as reporter. Each group is to discuss a separate set of questions and then report back to the entire group for a full class discussion:

   Group 1: Compare and contrast the personal and professional lives of Miles, Kephart, and Campbell. What factors might have influenced their observations of Appalachian people? How might the sex of the author influence her/his observations? What evidence do you find that gender did or did not influence his/her observations?

   Group II: Compare and contrast the descriptions of Miles, Campbell, and Kephart regarding the female. How do they view female children, young adult females and older women? How do they view the relationships between women? How do they view the relationships of women and men? What comments do they make on the socialization of females?

   Group III: Compare and contrast the descriptions of Miles, Campbell, and Kephart regarding the male. How do they view male children, young adult males, and older males? How do they view the relationships between men? How do they think males are taught to treat females? females to treat males? What comments do they make on the socialization of females? of males?

3. Ask each reporter to summarize the discussion of her/his group. Allow time for clarifying questions.

4. Restate and summarize the traditional Appalachian female sex roles, the male sex roles, the socialization processes, and the factors involved in the viewpoints of the authors.

Activity III:

1. Rather than having the entire class involved in all the readings, have one-third read Miles, one-third read Kephart, and one-third read Campbell and Jones. During class allow time for each group to discuss their particular reading in terms of the questions below. Have each group select a reporter to record and relate the findings of the group to the entire class.
2. Summarize what you know about the personal and professional lives of the authors you have chosen:
   a. What factors have influenced their observations of Appalachian people?
   b. How has the gender of the authors influenced their observations?
   c. What evidence do you find that their gender did or did not influence their observations?
   d. How do the authors depict females—as children, young adults, and older women?
   e. What comments do they make on the socialization of females?
   f. How do they view relationships between women?
   g. How do they view relationships between men and women?
   h. How do the authors depict males—as children, young adults, and older men?
   i. What comments are made on the socialization of males?
   j. How are relationships between men viewed?
   k. How do they think males are taught to treat females? females taught to treat males?
   l. Is age a variable in male power in the public sphere? the private sphere?
   m. Is age a variable in female power in the public sphere? the private sphere?
3. After each group has reported and clarifying questions have been answered, lead the entire class in a discussion, using questions such as the following:
   a. In what ways were the descriptions of the females given by the authors alike? How were they different?
   b. In what ways were the descriptions of the males given by the authors alike? How were they different?

c. How do you think the descriptions were affected by the experiences of the authors?

4. Conclude with the following questions:

   In some ways the various authors' observations of Appalachian females and males and their socialization were alike, and in some ways different. After making a comparison of the differences in viewpoints, and based on your previous knowledge of material selection, what are some of the criteria you would use if asked to select books for school children on the female Appalachian experience and socialization of her people? How would you justify your selections to a school board member from outside the region who opposed your selections?

HISTORICAL SEX ROLES IN APPALACHIA

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APPENDIX: READINGS AND WORKSHEETS

ACTIVITY I: HISTORICAL SEX ROLES IN APPALACHIA

Carolyn Patton-Crowder

Introduction

This article examines historical sex roles in Appalachia by analyzing three major literary sources on the region to see how the authors depicted female behavior, male behavior, and the nature of female-male interactions. A comparison of the observations of female and male authors concerning Appalachian sex roles is provided.

Emma Bell Miles, author of *The Spirit of the Mountains*; Horace Kephart, author of *Our Southern Highlanders*; and John C. and Olive Dame Campbell, authors of *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*; were chosen because of their importance in Appalachian literature, and because they represent a female, male, and male-female point of view.

I.

The Spirit of the Mountains was first published in 1905 and reprinted in 1975. As David E. Whisnant points out, "It was Emma Bell Miles' fate (and good fortune) to live between two cultures." (Miles, p. xvii) Furthermore, he gives emphasis to the viewpoint that "the central fact of Emma Bell Miles' life and the predominant theme of her book is ambivalence and biculturism." (Miles, p. xvii) Her experience as a woman alienated from her culture, in search of her identity, and struggling in her family life certainly must have given rise to her particularly keen observations of the sex-role characteristics of women and men and of their relationships.

She noted that boys viewed girls with a negative perception and she saw the life of the young married man in the mountains as one of the most interesting in that society. She described him as highly daring and mercilessly reckless while he "conquers his chosen bit of wilderness, and heartily begets and rules his tribe, fighting and praying alike fearlessly and exultantly." (Miles, p. 68) In her perception, he has an orientation to the out-of-doors, is adventurous and aggressive while knowing the ways of his world. The mountain man's treatment of women differs only slightly from that of other men in the world, according to Miles. "The adolescent male of the human species has, even under civilization, an inborn contempt for girls. And this feeling in the mountaineer's maturity is superseded by a sort of wondering, half-amused pity." (Miles, p. 59)

Miles defined the role of women as one of preserving tradition and as one fraught with the hardships of life. "At twenty the mountain woman is old in all that makes a woman old—toil, sorrow, childbearing, loneliness, and pitiful want." (Miles, p. 64) However, she found traits in women far beyond the characteristics of a household drudge and firmly pointed to these positive aspects. "She learns to look upon the common human lot as a high calling. She gains the courage of the fatalist; the surety that nothing can happen which has not happened before; that, whatever she may be called upon to endure, she will yet know that others have undergone its like over and over again. Her lot is inevitably one of service and of suffering, and refines only as it is meekly and sweetly borne. For this reason she is never quite commonplace." (Miles, p. 66)

The entire female experience has, according to Miles, a great meaning even though made difficult by subjugation to the male. Miles' appreciation of the female experience is shown specifically as she viewed older women. Much wisdom is gained by virtue of the wide range of the female experience in mountain society and occurs in tradition, song, medical and religious learning, and in nursing and teaching. Furthermore, Miles remarked, "An old woman has usually more authority over the bad boys of a household than all the strength of men." (Miles, p. 37) Miles also emphasized the responsibility, reliance, and caring that women have for other women in her account of Aunt Genevy's delivering Mary Burn's baby. ". . . . I left them there together, the old woman and the young; the one with hardships and suffering like a lesson learned and mastered, the other with her eyes just opened on its

meaning." (Miles, p. 64)

Miles regards the separation of the sexes which, as she observed, begins in babyhood and widens with the passing of the years, as a tragedy. "Man and woman, although they be twenty years married—although in twenty years there has been not one hour in which one has not been immediately necessary to the welfare of the other—still must needs regard each other wonderingly, with a prejudice that takes the form of a mild, half-amused contempt for one another's opinions and desires. The pathos of the situation is nonetheless terrible because unconscious. They are so silent. They know so pathetically little of each other's lives." (Miles, p. 70)

II.

In the Introduction to the 1976 reprint of *Our Southern Highlander*, George Ellison writes that Horace Kephart came to the Appalachian mountains with the intention of writing, to be alone in the wilderness, and to pursue his interest in early American history. Kephart, a former professional librarian, first published portions of this book in 1913 and is self-admittedly writing about the "mass" of the mountain people. (Kephart, preface) His observations of sex roles are acute but are hampered by an expectation of finding middle-class manners present in mountain society. Furthermore, he does not remark on the strength and value of the female experience.

Although Kephart does observe social roles, he focuses on a description of physical appearance. Physically, he notes, the mountaineer is lean, inquisitive, shrewd and "Nearly all males of the back country have a grave and deliberate bearing." (Kephart, p. 287) Mountain people have been taught to hide emotion and "Many wear habitually a sullen scowl, hateful and suspicious, which in men of combative age, and often in the old women is sinister and vindictive." (Kephart, p. 288) He views the mountain home as happy, with little bickering, and as a patriarchal existence. The man is strongly individualistic, according to Kephart, and is insensitive to women. His role is that of a final decison maker. "About family matters he consults with his wife, but in the end his word is law." (Kephart, p. 330)

Whereas Miles observed a hatred of women, Kephart views the mountain man's treatment of women as a lack of middle-class, urban manners. "Outside the towns no hat is lifted to maid or wife. A swain would consider it belittled his dignity. At table, if women would be seated at all, the dishes are passed first to the men; but generally the wife stands by and serves. There is no conscious discourtesy in such customs; but they betoken an indifference to woman's weakness, a disregard for her finer nature, a denial of her proper rank, that are real and deep seated in the mountaineer. To him she is little more than a sort of superior domestic animal." (Kephart, p. 332)

The woman's role is clearly defined according to Kephart but without the redeeming values of experiencing a deep meaning of life or the wisdom that Miles discovered. "The mountain farmer's wife is not only a household drudge, but a field hand as well." (Kephart, p. 332) Not only does he relate his observations of women in these terms but furthermore states that women really enjoyed their role. "And yet it is seldom that a highland woman complains her lot. She knows no other . . . . Indeed she would scarce respect her husband if he did not lord it over her and cast upon her the menial tasks. It is 'manners' for a woman to drudge and obey." (Kephart, p. 332)

Kephart does display an understanding of the hardships life places on women. "Many of the women are pretty in youth; but hard toil in house and field, early marriage, frequent childbearing with shockingly poor attention, and ignorance or defiance of the plainest necessities of hygiene, soon warp and age them. At thirty or thirty-five a mountain woman is apt to have a worn and faded look, with form prematurely bent—and what wonder?" (Kephart, p. 289) In a continuation of this passage he makes the relationship, as does Miles, of the difficulty in the position of the female as resulting from the dominant, demanding role of the male. "Always bending over the hoe in the cornfield, or bending over her baby, or bending to pick up, for the thousandth time, the wet duds that her lord flings on the floor as he enters from the woods—what wonder that she soon grows short-waisted and round-shouldered?" (Kephart, p. 289)

Women who displayed physical strength

or who by necessity stepped outside assigned middle class sex-role work tasks were noteworthy to Kephart. "One of our women, known as 'Long Goody' (I measured her: six feet three inches she stood) walked eighteen miles across the Smokies into Tennessee, crossing at an elevation of 5,000 feet, merely to shop more advantageously than she could at home. The next day she shouldered fifty pounds of flour and some other groceries, and bore them home before nightfall." (Kephart, p. 290) Although he notes the insensitivity of the male to the "weaker sex" he fails to relate the woman's ability to accomplish male-assigned work tasks to a source of strength and versatility in the woman. "It is the commonest of sights for a woman to be awkwardly hacking up firewood with a dull axe. When her man leaves home on a journey he is not likely to have laid in wood for the stove or hearth; so she and the children must drag from the hillsides whatever dead timber they can find." (Kephart, p. 331)

Whereas Kephart sees the physical appearance of the old woman as sinister and vindictive, Miles notes the value and strength which provides a more well-rounded viewpoint. "For all her gentleness and courtesy, there is something terrible about old Geneva Rogers, a fascination, as of the stern and awful patience of some grand, stubborn plane . . . Her strength and endurance are beyond imagination to women of the sheltered life." (Miles, p. 54)

III.

Although *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* carries the name of John C. Campbell, Loyal Jones, in a critique of the book and an evaluation of the issue of authorship, states: "It was her monument to her beloved husband. There is no question but that the book should have carried both of their names as co-authors, if simple literary honesty were the main concern, but Olive Dame Campbell wanted the book presented as her husband's book, as nearly like his outlined plan as possible." (Jones, p. 31) Olive Dame Campbell was his co-worker in the research and wrote the book after his death. The writer, therefore, will refer to the work as written by Campbell and Campbell.

Campbell and Campbell observed the mountain male as "the favored lord of all he surveys." (Campbells, p. 124) He is described as possessing dignity and "a conscious superiority in his youthful mein that says more clearly than spoken words that womankind are not his equals." (Campbell, p. 124)

As do Miles and Kephart, Campbell and Campbell see the hardships of life of the mountain women: "While he thus grows into the ways of mountain manhood his sisters are learning to tread the painful path of mountain womanhood" (Campbells, p. 126). With marriage as the goal of young women imposed by the circumstances present in that society, the girls are taught early in their lives to care for the home. While maturing early, as does her male counterpart, "into a vigorous blooming girlhood," her "aspirations are too often blunted and coarsened by the bald and unrelieved hardness of life." (Campbells, p. 127) The authors see her as adaptable to changing conditions and with a changing temperament. "She is alternately suspicious, given to fits of fiery temper, emotional, and sullen—yet again of a delicate, a touching and gentle sweetness that has in it an unconscious pathos." (Campbells, p 127)

Campbell and Campbell show an understanding of the position of the mountain women who enter marriage and the hard life of raising a family by attributing this choice to lack of opportunities for women for economic independence. "The gathering of roots and herbs, and the sale of milk and butter in a very limited way, are almost the only means by which women earn money in the mountains, and these articles are often bartered at the country store for household commodities, they cannot be said to form a means of support under present conditions . . . . The only solution of life for the average girl who stays in the Highlands is marriage." (Campbells, p. 129)

The Campbells see boys as craving excitement and girls as having much less freedom to pursue excitement than boys do. They express regret that the girls accept the traditional attitudes of men toward women that women's minds are weaker than men's. In relating an incident whereby a mountain man thinks a woman is not productive unless she can do some traditionally male work tasks, Campbell and Campbell fail to see the

positive value involved in the overlap of sex-role-assigned work tasks, and they conclude a report of the incident by having to assure the reader that the man was a fond husband and a loving father.

The depth of meaning of life that women have gained in learning to survive their difficult life is noted by these authors as by Miles. "That many women through the hard and sometimes almost brutal rudeness of their lives should become coarsened and sordid would be natural, yet it is true that suffering has often refined the Highland woman and given her a broad human sympathy not to be expected from the narrowness of her environment." (Campbells, p. 140)

Campbell and Campbell, like Miles, developed an appreciation of the older woman in mountain society. They describe her as having a stern theology, a deep understanding of life, showing patience, endurance, and resignation but also able to express a kindly, interested appreciation of pleasant things. In her position "she has gained a freedom and a place of irresponsible authority in the home hardly rivaled by the men of the family." (Campbells, p. 140) Although her husband remains dominant he is more likely to defer to her opinion than when they were both younger.

Conclusion

The authors agree that the mountain male was dominant, demanding, and regarded as superior to the female. Miles notes that the perception of superiority by the male begins early in life. Furthermore, she comments on the increasing lack of respect and understanding between the sexes which she views as tragic. "Thus a rift is set between the sexes at babyhood that widens with the passing of the years, a rift that is never closed even by the daily interdependence of a poor man's partnership with his wife." (Miles, p. 69)

Kephart is firm in his observations of the dominant sex. He notes a distinct patriarchal family structure. Although the mountain husband may consult "the woman" (his wife) about family matters, Kephart observes that he holds her in check if she should exceed the limits of her power. Campbell and Campbell are as certain as are Miles and Kephart in their observations of the dominant sex. The male, in their opinion, is favored from birth, behaves in a manner superior to females as a developing child, and fully realizes his manhood on establishing his own home. "As a man, he recognizes from the first the man's prerogative to order and be obeyed, and right bravely does he stride in the long steps of his father and older brothers." (Campbells, p. 124)

The authors also agree that life for the mountain female was fraught with hardships aggravated by her subservient role. Moreover, she was often treated poorly by males. This is exemplified by Miles in her observation of Mary Burns. Mary, a young pregnant woman, is not only poor in basic material goods but is shunned by her thoughtless, selfish husband. Kephart points to the hardships suffered by women in childbearing, child rearing, homemaking and toiling in the fields. That a mountain man would add to a woman's work load by expecting her to pick up his clothes which he had carelessly thrown on the floor seemed somewhat appalling to Kephart.

Campbell and Campbell also discuss the difficulty and challenges encountered by mountain women in homemaking, fieldwork, childbirth, and child rearing. Although they note that a woman's work appears more all-consuming than does a man's, they seem to think that men are unaware of their capacity to ease the work load of women or are unwilling to do so because of the division of labor by sex roles. "If what he wished did not include supplying the home with modern conveniences, it was not because he was neglectful by intent. It simply had not occurred to him that such appliances were necessary or even possible. Or, again, if he did not always help his wife, it may have been because certain work was women's work." (Campbell, p. 136)

Another point of agreement is found in that women accepted their lot since alternatives were not apparent. Miles, in her observation of Mary Burns and Aunt Genevy, the midwife, again emphasizes this acceptance. "I left them there together, the old woman and the young; the one with her hardships and suffering like a lesson learned and mastered, the other with her eyes just opened on its meaning." (Miles p. 64)

Kephart, going a step further, indicates the internalization by women of a lesser, subservient position. "And yet it is seldom that a highland woman complains of her lot. She knows no other . . . . Indeed she would scarce respect her husband if he did not lord it over her and cast upon her the menial tasks. It is 'manners' for a woman to drudge and obey." (Kephart, p. 332) Campbell and Campbell note that marriage is the aim of mountain women since opportunities for economic independence are limited.

Although Campbell and Campbell point to the different standards by which men and women are judged, as well as sensitively calling attention to the hardships women endure, they attribute the disregard shown by mountain men toward mountain women to a lack of awareness. Miles and Kephart, however, observe a distinct hatred or devaluing of women by men. Miles observes mountain men as being generally misogynous. She refers to Gideon Burns as cruel in his treatment of Mary and indicates that his hatred is extended to their child. "I should have known that the first bond established between the primitive mother and her baby is that of being alike temporarily repulsive to their lord and master and so companions in crime." (Miles, p. 63)

Miles and Campbell and Campbell find that women have an understanding of the meaning of life which transcends the role that Kephart views only as that of household drudge and field hand. In addition to calling attention to the hardships of mountain women, Miles points to her strengths. "She learns to look upon the common human lot as a high calling. She gains the courage of the fatalist: the surety that nothing can happen which has not happened before; that, whatever she may be called upon to endure, she will yet know that others have undergone its like over and over again. Her lot is inevitably one of service and suffering, and refines only as it is meekly and sweetly borne. For this reason she is never quite commonplace." (Miles, p. 66)

Concurring with Miles, Campbell and Campbell note the strength shown by mountain women. "That many women through the hard and sometimes almost brutal rudeness of their lives should become coarsened and sordid would be natural, yet it is true that suffering has often refined the Highland woman and given her a broad human sympathy not to be expected from the narrowness of her environment." (Campbells, p. 140)

Miles and Campbell and Campbell also observe an appreciation of the older woman in mountain society. Moreover, these authors notice a distinct change in the power position of the woman with increasing age. Not only does her wisdom command respect but her authority also increases. "Her grown sons pay to her an attention which they do not always accord their wives; and her husband, while he remains still undisputed master of the home, defers to her opinion to a degree unknown in her younger days. Her daughter and her grandchildren she frankly rules." (Campbells, p. 140)

Essentially, the authors agree that the mountain male was dominant, demanding, and regarded as superior to the female; that life for the mountain female was fraught with hardships aggravated by her subservient role; that women accepted their lot; that misogyny existed; that mountain women were immensely strong; and that older women held positions of respect and authority.

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Unit II
Lesson 5

CONTEMPORARY SEX ROLES IN RURAL-AGRICULTURAL APPALACHIA

INTRODUCTION

It has been argued that the coming of industrialization and tourism touched and changed nearly every aspect of life in Appalachia. Outsiders moved into the region, "towns appeared almost overnight, police forces were substituted for self-appointed lawmen, and new social distinctions based on race, religion, and income began to arise" (Shackelford and Weinberg, 1977, p. 136).

The social changes that accompanied industrialization included changes in the sex-role definitions of women and men, complex changes which have hardly been addressed by researchers and writers. As mountain men and women moved into the paid labor force in an exploitative economic market, they usually moved from being "just plain folks," who provided for their human needs in the same way everybody else did, to being low-income workers, dependent on "the company" for their sustenance.

While women who worked in the paid labor force acquired more economic power as individuals in relation to men, the mountain family as a whole became more dependent on forces outside its control. The effects of interaction of gender, race and social class is a realm of Appalachian sociology and psychology that needs much study.

This lesson examines contemporary sex roles in areas of Appalachia that were once predominantly agricultural or self-sufficient.

OBJECTIVE

To examine contemporary sex roles in rural-agricultural Appalachia.

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FACILITATOR PREPARATION

Review Lesson 3, Introduction to Sex-Role Stereotyping in American Society. Ideally, review Book I of this learning/teaching series, *Understanding Sex Roles and Moving Beyond.* Read carefully the materials contained in this lesson, especially the Beaver article, "Hillbilly Men, Hillbilly Women," and the McHenry et al. article, "Some Perceptions of Family Functioning among Rural Families in East Tennessee." Select learning activities which best fit your learning/teaching situation.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY I:

1. Students should read the following articles, included with this lesson:
   a. "Hillbilly Women, Hillbilly Men: Sex Roles in Rural-Agricultural Appalachia" (Beaver, 1979).
   b. "Some Perceptions of Family Functioning among Rural Families in East Tennessee" (McHenry et al., 1976).
2. Ask students the following: Imagine yourself as an adult mountain person living at the present time. Form a mental image of yourself and your surroundings, i.e., home, countryside, community, transportation, marital status, societal expectations and restrictions.
   a. What is your work? Are you paid for your work?
   b. List five activities in which you would be engaged.
   c. List five activities in which you would be engaged if you were a member of the opposite sex.
   d. How would you change your life if your work provided you with a higher salary?
3. Ask for volunteers to describe their fantasy of their imagined life in a rural Appalachian mountain area. Relate the activities for the same sex first and then for the opposite sex. An entire class discussion can then focus on questions such as:
   a. How have living conditions in the mountains changed over the past fifty to seventy years?
   b. What are the activities of the females?
   c. What are the activities of the males?
   d. How are the activities alike?
   e. How are they different?

f. What factors related to your gender and what factors related to Appalachian culture affected your choice of activities?

g. How would the availability of paid employment for men/women affect your daily activities?

h. How did you feel about engaging in the activities of the opposite sex?

i. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each group of activities?

j. How have changes in living conditions influenced behaviors appropriate for males and females?

k. How would you define the sex role of most rural mountain women living at the present time?

l. How would you define the sex role of most rural mountain men?

m. What socialization processes occur for each role?

n. What effect does paid employment have on the power of females? of males?

o. What effect does age have on the power of females? of males?

p. Which role has greater freedom in general?

q. Which role involves more choice in general?

r. Which has more political influence in general?

s. Which has more economic independence?

t. What are the indications that a patriarchy does or does not exist in Appalachia at the present time?

4. Use the following questions for the conclusion of the class discussion:

a. In the McHenry et al. study, what indications are found that sex-role assignment and learned sex-role behaviors still exist?

b. What is meant by role integration?

c. Why do you suppose the investigators found role integration in older people?

d. If you were going to teach in a mountain community, how would an understanding of the historical and contemporary sex roles enable you to facilitate the development of males and females?

e. Suppose a rural woman with children who has been economically supported by a man is widowed or divorced in mid-life. What are her options?

Activity II:

1. The students can tape record an interview with an older Appalachian female, an older Appalachian male, a young Appalachian female, and a young Appalachian male. The interviewee should be asked to comment on the activities of her/his parents, home, family members, expectations of children, differences in family's and society's roles for females and males, her/his own activities as a young adult, the alternatives available to her/him in selecting an occupation. A written summary of the interviews should then be prepared.
2. Ask for volunteers to relate the essence of their interviews and/or proceed using the same discussion questions suggested for Activity I.
3. Conclude the discussion with questions such as:
   a. How would you define the male sex role? the female sex role?
   b. What socialization processes were enacted for each?
   c. How did females learn behaviors "appropriate" for females?
   d. How did males learn behaviors "appropriate" for males?
   e. Which role had greater freedom?
   f. Which role involved more choice?
   g. Which had more political influence?
   h. Is age a variable in relative power of Appalachian males and females?
   i. Do you think as much patriarchy existed in Appalachia in the past as in the present? Why?

CONTEMPORARY SEX ROLES IN RURAL-AGRICULTURAL APPALACHIA

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APPENDIX: READINGS AND WORKSHEETS

ACTIVITY I—A: HILLBILLY WOMEN, HILLBILLY MEN: SEX ROLES IN RURAL-AGRICULTURAL APPALACHIA

Patricia D. Beaver

A female view of Appalachian women, sex roles, and the distribution of power is revealed in literary sources such as Harriet Arnow's *The Dollmaker* and Wilma Dykeman's *The Tall Woman;* in Kathy Kahn's journalistic account of *Hillbilly Women;* and in Barbara Copple's recent documentary film, *Harlan County, U.S.A.* However, with few exceptions, social scientists have ignored the female account and the female perspective in Appalachia. Typically, they depict the social, political, and economic reality through the conceptual system of the public, male point of view, describing the male-oriented reality as if it were the composite reality (cf. Brown 1950, Weller 1966, Hicks 1976).

These blind spots have obscured several features of Appalachian social life. One is the insight we gain by looking at the life cycle, and, in particular, how male and female domains of power and influence shift with aging. Second is the recognition of the power of women within the private or female-oriented domestic sphere of life (Rosaldo, 1974). Third is the recognition of female influence within the public areas of life.

Appalachian sex roles result in a domestic/public social and economic duality based on nuclear family organization. Specific activities require extended kin activity and result in larger, usually sexually divided groups of people. Because of particular historic environmental factors, necessitating work flexibility, women are often accepted within the public sphere of activities. In addition, although the male public sphere is culturally defined as more important, resulting in asymmetry between the two spheres, male and female power and influence shift with aging. Thus men reach the peak of their influence in late middle age, while women reach their peak in old age.

In order to understand the particular configuration of sex roles, of cultural definition of sexuality, and ultimately of the distribution of power in Appalachia, some discussion of the social background[1] is necessary. Thus, I will discuss the historical and economic context as it affects the socialization of children; general patterns of the life cycle; and the relationship between male and female power and influence as it is modified with age.

Data on which this analysis is based[2] come from three mountain communities in three separate North Carolina counties. All three are rural; yet each has an industrial component. Although they differ somewhat in agricultural productivity, all have been influenced by the same historical factors of relative isolation from market and communication systems; out-migration; fluctuations in the economy and thus economic instability; and by a more recent influx of tourism and a trend toward increasing agricultural costs, higher tax rates, and inflated land prices. A large proportion of the adult population in each community now works outside the community in permanent wage labor occupations, although the majority of families also supplement outside incomes with minimal to extensive agricultural activity. The primary cash crop in all three counties is tobacco, and other cash crops are sold regularly.

For the past 100 years, rural-agricultural Appalachian mountain communities have been defined by their relative isolation from economic and communication centers. In these communities where subsistence farming has been the primary economic activity, a variety of other activities, such as timbering, mining, cash cropping, and out-migration for work, serve as supplemental economic activities available. Although permanent wage labor is a relatively new phenomenon in the mountains, becoming important to the majority of the labor force only after the

1940's, labor diversification and the exploitation of a variety of economic pursuits are not new. Historically, this diversification has provided an economic margin of survival by supplementing agriculture with a variety of income sources. Agriculture has traditionally been the basis of the family economy; while for a few this remains true, most, in varying degrees, rely on agriculture as a supportive factor. Permanent wage labor in many communities is but one among many categories of employment, and a subsistence-orientation dominates much community interaction, family organization, childhood socialization, and sex-role learning.

Social roles, of which gender is the core-defining feature, are geared toward the dominant factors influencing social relationships. These are: relative independence of the nuclear family as the primary socializing unit, interdependence of members of large flexible kin networks, and a rural-agricultural heritage demanding cooperation between the sexes and among networks of people.

Gender identity, as the core of social identity, is manifest in terms of specific tasks or spheres of activities: in general, the female domestic sphere includes primary responsibility for the care and socialization of children, and for household and garden decision making and maintenance; the male extra-domestic sphere includes all things not related to child care and household and garden maintenance. However, these role structures are flexible in the sense that pragmatism, a dominant cultural theme in a historically and economically tenuous environment, may require constant adjustment. As Foster (1977) has noted with reference to Appalachian sex roles, "Where there is a job to be done, it may be less important who does it than that it be done."

SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN

Children are definitely working members of their parents' household, and the young child is expected to perform tasks which contribute to the house and garden maintenance. The differing roles of the two sexes are taught at an early age (cf. Pearsall 1959:75ff., 87-92; Brown 1950). Young girls are taught to perform household duties and are allowed to experiment with cooking. Young boys are expected to help with farming but are not expected to do anything in the way of interior household maintenance. Some farm tasks are performed by both women and men; as a result, young girls and boys alike learn many of the same farming skills and are expected to help with the same jobs. The chief difference in the farm-related activities of men and women is that women usually do not run machinery if a male is available to do so. Consequently, young girls and boys both work in planting, hoeing, cultivating, and harvesting, but only young boys are allowed to drive tractors and other heavy equipment.

Turning of the land in the spring and plowing in preparation for planting is men's work. Planting of vegetable gardens is done by both men and women, although cash crops such as hay and corn are planted by men using mechanized equipment. Tobacco seedlings, started in seed beds, are transplanted to larger fields. Both men and women transplant tobacco working together, although if mechanized equipment is used, men generally operate this machinery. Similarly, men tend the hay and corn crops when mechanized equipment is used, although women sometimes help load hay bales. Women and children may be hired to tend and harvest such cash crops as cabbages, tomatoes, apples, and sometimes tobacco. Yet, especially with tobacco, harvesting and preparation for sale are done by men, women, and children, usually working together in extended family groups. The care of vegetable gardens is primarily a task for women and children, as is the preparation of vegetables for winter storage.

In general, cash crops—with the exception of tobacco—are men's work, and subsistence crops are women's work. The planting and harvesting of cash crops are most often done with mechanized equipment; home gardens are tended without it. Tobacco is the one cash crop tended by men and women equally, although various aspects of planting, tending, harvesting, and marketing tobacco are sometimes divided according to sex. Thus where agriculture is mechanized, it is primarily men's work, and where it is not it is primarily women's work.

Assigned chores are to be performed with-

out delay. Yet, when the chores are done, children are allowed unrestricted play. The need for each member of the family to contribute what he or she can to the family maintenance is so instilled in the young child, that little fuss is normally raised over requests to perform household tasks. Once I was talking with a woman and her children when the mother "hollered" to her 12 and 14 year old daughters to "get the hell out and get some wood" for the stove so that dinner might be prepared. They quickly ran out of the house and began splitting logs for kindling. About five minutes later, they returned with a large load of wood, threw some into the stove, and took their places to listen again to the visitor.

Parental authority is firm and readily obeyed when it is expressed, but it is not frequently expressed. Children are expected to do certain tasks without question, but when these tasks are completed, their time is their own. Children are seldom asked to perform tasks simply because such tasks might teach them how to function as adults, or prepare them for later adult life. Neither are tasks usually assigned only for punishment or to please parents. Tasks are assigned because they must be done. Accomplished tasks contribute vitally to household maintenance. Thus, "work," as opposed to "public work,' is something that must be done for the sake of maintenance. "Public work," on the other hand, brings financial remuneration, and is a great boon to the family when it is available, and when children can be freed for it. Agricultural activities do not restrict individuals, male or female, parents or children, from working on jobs away from the home. Yet, incomes from these outside jobs are expected to be contributed toward maintenance of the nuclear household. The nuclear family is the primary unit of production and consumption (cf. Brown 1950, 1952), and all other kin relations, as well as economic obligations, radiate outward from this primary unit into the rest of the community.

Older children are not in any way forced to assume cash-paying jobs outside the household, but frequently desire them as an escape from the routine house and farm-oriented tasks, as a means of obtaining extra luxury items, and of gaining some degree of financial independence from the parents' financial strictures. Working children contribute cash and goods to the nuclear family as long as they are living at home, but may reserve some amount for their own use. Those children who have cash-paying jobs are in turn relieved of many of their household duties.

Children quite frequently take jobs away from the home, often on neighbors' farms, although fewer opportunities are available for female children than male. When children are old enough, they tend to work in one of the factories located no less than 15 miles away. A large portion of the income derived from these jobs will be contributed, directly or indirectly, to household maintenance. Incomes are contributed directly by giving cash to parents, and indirectly by purchasing food or their own clothing.

Parental authority is almost totally dismissed for boys in their early teens; guidelines are still set, advice is given, threats of beatings and restrictions on activity are voiced, but rarely are they enforced. Relationships between father and son during this period are characterized by tension and restraint. Adolescent boys are expected to become functioning members of the male extra-domestic work unit, and if, in fact, boys participate willingly and energetically in men's activities, they reap the rewards of mature acceptance; they are treated as adults, included in camaraderie, joking, gossiping, and the world of male knowledge. Strain arises when sons are less enthusiastic participants in male work. Fathers who beat their sons run the risk of permanent enmity between themselves and their quasi-adult sons.

For girls, authority is minimally enforced during this period. The relationship between father and daughters is, in adolescence, characterized by distance due to the division of labor; working contact is minimal. The adolescent daughter has gradually become a functioning member of the domestic work team.

Mother-son relationships shift from paternal authority and affection for young boys to a free-flowing joking and comradely relationship in adolescence. In fact, the influence of mothers over their sons subtly increases with age. Particularly during late adolescence, while fathers have less control

over their sons, a mother may carefully and gently wade into crisis situations, not as an authority, but as a counsellor or advisor.

While mother-daughter relationships may be temporarily fragmented by a daughter's marriage, the relationship is generally one of cooperation—increasing with age and maturity. Mother-son relationships, shifting from maternal care to comradely advising, become increasingly significant with age. As the community-wide public influence of men increases with age, an aged mother may be the only person who can actively, without hesitation or reservation, give advice or warning without risking confrontation. Sons often react playfully to an old mother's strong warnings or advice, but they rarely resent her interference with their business.

Clearly, children of a household are routinely contributing members of the nuclear family economy. Furthermore, they are socialized quite early to expect and demand some degree of personal independence. As a result, they are prepared to make the logical step into marriage and toward independence from parental household at early ages. With marriage comes independence within one's own new family unit.

MARRIAGE

The transition of the individual from dependent child to independent adult occurs through marriage, and, although sometimes sudden and dramatic, this marks the community's acceptance of the new nuclear unit on an equal basis with other such units.

Elopement is a common means by which a couple unites in marriage. Although the age of marriage is increasing somewhat with the increase in available work alternatives for young men and women, and the increasing emphasis placed on finishing high school and gaining job skills prior to marriage, the median age of marriage was in 1973 in one rural-agricultural community, 16 for women and 20 for men.

Regardless of their ages, a newlywed couple is expected to establish a new household. However, because elopement allows little post-marital planning, and because of the scarcity of housing, a newly married couple usually resides temporarily with the parents of either spouse until other living arrangements can be made. Historically, young married couples resided close to one spouse's parents; often, in a house built on the parent's land. Due to the high cost of building, this is an increasingly unavailable alternative, although mobile homes, which can be obtained with minimal down-payments, allow some young couples to continue this traditional and convenient residence pattern.[3]

HOUSEHOLD REORGANIZATION

The death of parents and the marriage of children are the two major means by which the nuclear family unit is broken up and new units formed. When all children have left the natal household, the parental couple will be left alone, and will normally continue to reside alone, although in close proximity to other kin. Because close kin are residentially clustered, relatives are usually nearby to see to the needs of an old couple. Even in extreme old age or infirmity, where daily attention is required, a married couple will continue to reside alone, if at all possible.

There are four cases in one community of women living alone. However, I found no instances in this same community of men living alone. This results from the sexual division of labor and the differing socialization of men and women. In one instance, a husband who was unusually considerate of his wife, beamed with pride the morning he made coffee for the first time in his life. His wife was ill, and he insisted that, contrary to the usual situation, she should not get up to fix his breakfast. At the age of 60, he had never cooked anything, and the success of the coffee was a remarkable achievement. The only other man discovered in the community who took any interest in, or had any knowledge of cooking, had acquired his interest and skill in the juvenile rehabilitation center. There is general agreement that a man alone cannot, and cannot be expected to, take care of his own domestic needs. Even when a woman leaves the community for overnight visits elsewhere, her husband will go to his mother's or another relative's house to stay for the duration of the wife's absence, or his mother or another female relative will come in to cook and clean for him, if there are no daughters old enough to

assume these responsibilities. If a man does not marry, yet stays in the community, he normally stays with his parents, regardless of age. Neighbors expect that if parents should die, an unmarried son will, or at least should, marry. The man who lives alone is considered an oddity. All help is given to the very few young bachelors in the community who, past the age of about 27, are pitied for their inability to find a wife, and/or are suspected of various sorts of potential mental instability for not wanting one. The old man who lives alone, in fact, demonstrates to the community his mental instability through his pitiable condition, as his dwelling is rude, simple, and perennially cold, his clothing filthy, and his health is bad from poor dietary habits.

If a wife dies leaving young children, the husband may have an unmarried daughter, sister, or other female relative live with him. This occurs if no daughters in the home are old enough to care for the house, or if all the daughters have left the house. In such a case, the relative who moves in may stay with the widower until he dies or remarries. Indeed, widower remarriage seems relatively common. If a widower does not marry, it is expected that a female relative will stay with him until he dies.

POWER, INFLUENCE, AND THE LIFE CYCLE

Rosaldo suggests a universal distinction between public and domestic spheres of life; the domestic sphere, growing from the relationship between mother and infant, refers to those "minimal institutions and modes of activity that are organized immediately around one or more mothers and their children;" the public sphere stems from the freeing or perhaps exclusion of men, through a pragmatic division of tasks, from the commitment to infants, and refers to "activities, institutions, and forms of associations that link, rank, organize, or subsume particular mother-child [domestic] groups." Political relationships and public symbols thus are within the domain of men, who create systems in which "women . . . lack generally recognized and culturally valued authority." As public symbols are legitimized within the public domain, public symbols reflect an ideology which subordinates women within that domain. Men thus have "*authority* over women . . . a culturally [publicly] legitimated right to her subordination and compliance."

In Appalachia, the domestic female sphere is symbolically less important in the public domain than is the public male sphere. This asymmetry is reflected in much of the sociological literature, which, because it is primarily reflecting a male view of the total system (cf. Brown's [1950] statement that he rarely was alone with a woman in the community), quite accurately reflects the public sentiment of male authority and female subordination. The culturally defined public code is one of female submission, acquiescence, and to some extent, passivity. However, a public code and canons of polite (public) behavior and social deference have quite frequently been mistaken for a total reality, and several important factors have been overlooked. An examination of two critical points in the life cycle of men and women, middle age and old age, is necessary for understanding the meaning and distribution of influence and power.

For both sexes, middle age is a time of hard work, of the final thrusts of economic expansion, and, finally, of economic consolidation. Men in particular reach the peak of their public influence in late middle age. They have the stamina and strength for all important activities of youth—albeit waning—but tempered by good sense and self-control. Opinions are offered with confidence; they have the repertoire of the past, that is, knowledge of people and events unknown to the young, yet participation in events of the young. They have the advantage of seeing both generations around them—the old and the young—in a culturally defined "sensible" perspective. They have the wisdom and expertise from the past, and this can influence and temper new input from the present; cultural definitions of rationality and reason are epitomized by this period of life; impetulance is waning. Stamina, expertise and patience combine to lend to the middle-aged man an air of importance. Opinions offered are most readily acknowledged, credibility is at its highest, emotional and psychological maturity are finally achieved and—more important—publicly acknowledged. Self-confidence is at its highest and

is reinforced by public recognition.

Women during this period are most often depressed; hard work of an earlier age and of the present begets more work and the most difficult period of adjustment—the loss of children from the home. Domination by the husband is at its peak, while the psychological rewards of submission are at their lowest. The romance of youth is gone, and the demands of middle age are overwhelming. Although children may be establishing their homes and families nearby, they are simultaneously and emphatically cutting their ties of dependence with home and mother; and the ties of "mature dependence" and cooperation will not be established until they begin having children and settling into their own nuclear family formation and economic consolidation. Middle age is the time of greatest distress for women, and it appears to be culturally induced by patterns of family development and sexual division of labor.

For men, old age is the period of declining influence. Physical stamina is waning, and opinions, technical expertise, and those factors which combine to make public credibility are becoming dated. In limited spheres of activity and expertise, old age does guarantee influence, but, in general, public influence diminishes markedly. Old men are publicly respected, but patronized. Old age is culturally respected by canons of polite behavior, but relationships are generally dominated by patronizing old men for their knowledge and expertise in limited areas. The work of men is passing them by, and they have been replaced by the next generation who have gradually but competently assumed the power.

For women, old age is the time of consolidation of power. Women's work, which is crucial for basic daily survival and comfort, never ceases, even in old age, although because of the easing of responsibilities due to the departure of children from the home, work may become more creative. Public influence may in fact be achieved through the ever-strengthening relationship with grown sons, who may be approaching or enjoying their prime, or directly through widowhood.

In the domestic sphere, influence through expertise and experience is finally acknowledged, as grown daughters have their own families and are aware of the extent of their need for help and the limitations of their own experience. "Mature dependence" on the part of children is achieved, and finally old women are privately and publicly acknowledged for their expertise. Recognition of expertise breeds self-confidence, and mountain women gain self-confidence through aging.

The sexually defined adaptation to the death of a spouse is particularly divergent due to the definitions of role and sexually defined expertise. While the widower is particularly pitiable because of his forced reliance on women for basic daily needs, the widow is the epitome of self-confidence and wit, one who is above the strivings of youth, relatively independent, and in total control for the first time in her life. The older widow may in fact defy to some extent the norms of polite deference in proferring opinions, or even of decency, since she cannot be touched. The old "widder woman" is a predominant figure in mountain humor, and for good reason. She can, and may, enjoy the sexual innuendo, with of course younger men and women being the butt of her remarks. Many observers have noted the apparent personality alteration that a widow seems to undergo after an appropriate period of mourning—the quiet, unassuming, unopinionated, deferential lady becomes aggressively opinionated, and perhaps even raucous. She is above rebuke and the relativity of old age is worn with pride and confidence.

Evidence of the apparent power shift between the sexes in old age is found in mountain folklore, where the old "widder woman" is a relatively frequent and ambiguous character, a trickster. The "old crone" is rarely generous, although she appears alternatively as the seer, the herb doctor, or the witch. She possesses wisdom, evil, power, or truth, but rarely goodness—sweet old gramma is symbolically irrelevant. Conversely, old men are rarely portrayed in any fashion, occurring occasionally as god-figures such as those wise old men in the Jack Tales. Dirty old men and male tricksters do not occur in mountain folk literature. There is no ambiguity associated with aging masculinity, nor any humor.

Religious participation and expression

likewise reflect shifting power relationships between the sexes. In rural Appalachian communities, as in any society, religious institutions serve a variety of functions, and one important function is the sublimation and relief of anxiety. Accordingly, participation by women in religious activity reaches greatest intensity in middle age, during that time when social events are least satisfying and stress is greatest. Further, religious participation by women does not generally increase with aging. Conversely, for men the primary function of the church during middle age is the public arena it provides; the church is to some degree an extension of the political sphere of activities and a public consensus-determining forum. However, significant for men is the conversion or religious intensification that may occur in old age. As public influence wanes, religious expression quite often increases. Several old men who were notorious in their younger days for excessive drinking, sexual prowess, fearlessness, violence, and general "meanness" were, when interviewed, extremely devout and pious, interspersing scripture and conversion messages with their church-oriented description of the events of the world.

In sum, men have a culturally validated right to public influence; because of the particular economic tasks which are defined as predominantly male, men manipulate and participate in increasingly wide male networks as they age and gain expertise[4]. Male networks, and the degree of influence that men gain vis-ā-vis the total public sphere is a function of male extra-domestic economic activities; thus, male influence is greatest during the period of middle-age economic consolidation, and wanes thereafter.

In Appalachia, as elsewhere, women have a great deal of informal influence and power within the public sphere; however, this power is rarely publicly legitimized or recognized. Women's power stems from four distinct factors:

1. The first is pragmatism (cf. Foster 1977), a value set that subsumes all other realms of social behavior. It is structurally, as well as economically and socially, more important that things get done than that someone in particular (either male or female) do them. Pragmatism necessitates flexibility in realms of human behavior, and a person is more highly regarded for doing what must be done than for being feminine or masculine. In fact, people are expected to work, to act, and are regarded as silly or even worthless if they refuse, on the basis of their sex, actions that they are capable of doing. Pragmatism, of course, stems from historical environmental factors; survival was dependent on hard work, independent action, and cooperation.

2. A related factor stems from the fact that pragmatism has necessitated female expertise in both the domestic and the public domains. For males, flexibility has been within the broader public domain, and means that men are and were expected to exhaust any available economic activity. Male work histories are characterized by work in a wide variety of activities and job situations. The tenuousness and instability of the mountain economy has demanded that men acquire a tremendous variety of skills and participate in a wide variety of activities. If money is needed, a sensible man must adapt himself to the available jobs.

As the economy has demanded male flexibility, so too has it demanded an even greater amount of female flexibility. Activities within the domestic sphere are comparatively well defined, and total competence, as well as total responsibility is expected of women. In the traditional, more subsistence-oriented economy, this meant that women were expected to take up the slack when men moved into new ventures—they were expected to do all things loosely defined as male. This same orientation results in minimal cultural acknowledgement of female public competence—and in fact excellence—in the male domain, in extra-domestic economic, political, and technological activities. Thus women may gain public influence by assuming culturally defined men's roles, by entering the public domain. In a broad survey of my own personal networks, I found women in every traditional male activity or occupation; women were politicians, doctors, administrators, law enforcement officers, preachers, heavy machinery operators, butchers, etc. Thus the cultural definition of sexual function may be overridden by the cultural value of pragmatism and flexibility. Although this

could be argued for any society, many subcultures, in the West at least, do not so readily allow individual needs and abilities to predominate over broader cultural definitions.

3. As mentioned above, women may gain indirect influence by manipulating and influencing men in positions of influence—that is, husbands and sons. As noted, the relationship of mother to son is particularly adaptable to this type of indirect manipulation of the total system.

4. Aging contributes to a breakdown of the public-domestic distinction through the decrease in male influence. While male influence diminishes, female influence frequently increases. In widowhood, women must participate at least minimally in the public domain, and move culturally into an anomalous position. The factor of sexual function and childbearing/raising, by which woman is structurally defined as subordinate, is likewise gone.

CONCLUSIONS

Appalachian social science literature has consistently failed to recognize the existence and function of the female sphere of life, the female role in decision making, and the participation of women in traditionally male roles. Female input into the public arena, both indirectly through males and directly through recognized positions of authority, has usually been viewed, when acknowledged at all, as a deviation from the norm. A strong-minded, hence deviant, woman gains public voice through a weak and submissive, hence deviant, man. The social system has often been described as simply patriarchal with some exceptions.

Rather than descriptions of Appalachian rural life which state general principles and exceptions, a description which is all-inclusive views female participation as a structured part of the system. Just as male political activity is patterned, female input is patterned, ordered, and constrained by social rules. As Collier (1974) has argued cross-culturally, " . . . women are social actors whose choices affect the options open to politically active men. If we . . . are to develop models of social reality capable of generating both the normative rules of a system and the pragmatic strategies actually followed by people . . . we must accommodate in our analyses the behavior of *all* human participants."

In conclusion, the historical and environmental factors which have dominated patterns of social interaction and belief in rural Appalachia have led to a recognition of the importance of cooperation among networks of independent individuals, and particularly between the sexes. That is, the rural, subsistence-oriented life style necessitated a high degree of culturally reinforced cooperation. This recognized need for cooperation has perhaps led to a minimum of sex antagonism, when compared to the less cooperative urban industrialized mainstream (cf. Sanday 1974).

Data from traditionally agricultural areas of West Africa, Latin America, the Carribbean, and Southeast Asia (Boserup 1970, Mintz 1971, Bossen 1975) suggest that new sex-role configurations due to modernization processes are assuming a familiar and somewhat uncomfortable pattern. In these areas cited, traditional male and female roles were distinct, interdependent, highly productive, and most important, highly valued. With colonization, followed by westernization, modernization, and increasing participation in a world market economy, has come the movement of men into high-skill, high-capital professions (e.g., international trade, often bypassing and devaluing traditional forms of female trade). Likewise, women have been limited to semi-skilled, or non-skilled, low-status types of employment, and have suffered a corresponding decrease in the prestige value and the power possibilities of their labor.

Investigations in rural Appalachia suggest similar patterns. Appalachia is becoming increasingly woven into an industrial economy; secondary industry in particular is employing increasing numbers of female workers at comparatively low wages (cf. Collins and Finn 1976). As women move into the labor market, they are assuming a variety of low-status, low-wage jobs, and may in fact be suffering a loss of status from roles associated with female labor in traditional agricultural Appalachia.

Although the subsistence orientation is a

primary framework for the socialization of rural individuals, economic reality requires the creation of new social patterns. I have described a general pattern predominant in a rural-agricultural, subsistence-oriented setting; this description only begins to accommodate the changing economy and its new social realities. A revised division of labor with new task definitions is a source of possible sex antagonism within young families employed in industry. Whether traditional roles of men and women are being redefined and the possible consequences of the redefinition to long-standing styles of rural living are subjects for further investigation. Further research is critical, but accurate analyses of the total system demand recognition of both the male and female spheres of life.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Rather than a final statement applicable to all of Appalachia, this is a general model particularly relevant to those rural portions of Appalachia which have been dominated by a subsistence orientation. Accordingly, I have not included such issues as economic level, unemployment, or social class.

[2]Elaboration of principles of social organization, kinship, community, historical influences, and belief in rural Appalachia may be found in Beaver (1976).

[3]Inhibiting the young woman's employment opportunities are the limited types of employment available within the expanding public sphere. Public jobs open to the unskilled young are limited to construction, heavy manual labor, and blue-collar factory work, although young women may be equally prepared for each type of job, employers are reluctant to hire women for any but traditionally female types of employment.

[4]For elaboration on the relationship of the mobile home phenomenon to traditional patterns of social organization, and to the bicultural identity of Appalachian residents, see Beaver (1977).

[5]The country store has been recognized by Hicks (1976) as a public arena in which men's groups form and function, and in which economic and political manueverings occur.

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ACTIVITY I—B: SOME PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY FUNCTIONING AMONG RURAL FAMILIES IN EAST TENNESSEE*

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The twentieth century is commonly labeled the century of change. Change has in fact been so great in recent times as to severely strain the family's ability to adapt to it.

Increased technology, urbanization, individuality, and affluence have resulted in many changes in the urban family structure, according to many recent research reports. Lee G. Burchinal (1964) states that three of the major changes in the family are: (1) the changed status of women; (2) less stereotyped division of labor; and (3) a changed definition of parenthood.

One of the most far-reaching social changes related to family organization has undoubtedly been the comparatively recent rise in the status of women. More equal education, employment, social, and even athletic opportunities, as declared by law, have had a great impact on male-female relationships.

Today equalitarian dating and courtship patterns are quite common, as well as the trend toward equalitarian marital relationships. As women have gained more status through increased awareness of opportunities available to them, the traditional division of labor in home and family life has been somewhat altered. No longer do many women assume that their major responsibilities will be centered around domestic activities while their husbands are out earning an income; more and more men and women are moving toward joint domestic and employment responsibility, as well as earning an income.

Another result of our affluent, technological society has been the changing attitude toward parenthood in the family organization. No longer are children considered essential for the family's economic well-being, but instead they are regarded today more informally as companions and even luxuries. Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in the change in child rearing techniques. In the past, when children were necessary contributors to the family's economic survival, formal and rigid authoritarian practices were common. Today, when children are viewed more as objects of affection, "psychological" techniques of child rearing are emphasized. The focus is on affection, a more democratic role for children, and a greater concern for their individual intellectual, emotional, and social development.

Are these changes evident in rural families? There are few answers to be found in the research literature that still tends to be based upon a white, urban, middle-class population. Rapid technological advances in agriculture and rural development have increased the well-being of the rural family today, blurring the differences between rural and urban life styles. Therefore, research is sorely needed to clarify the response of the rural family to change.

To shed light on some of these concerns, a study was conducted in the summer of 1972 on a group of rural families in East Tennessee. Data were obtained by personal interview, primarily with the homemaker, on selected aspects of family functioning. Family functioning is defined as behavior of the family and individuals composing the family in roles or activities related to the well-being of the family group. This report is one segment of the study.

PROCEDURE

The data for this study were taken from a study of 250 families living in rural counties in East Tennessee. The eligible counties were those having 50% or more rural population which were not part of a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area according to the 1970 Census of Population. On the basis of socio-

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economic characteristics—for example, education and income—the 25 eligible counties were stratified into two groups, high and low, with one county representing each. The sample included only families living in private households.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FAMILIES

Ninety-one percent of the families had both husband and wife present in the home or the household. Fifty-three percent of the families had husbands 45 years of age or older, and 49% had wives in this same age group. The average family size was 3.3 persons, with two-thirds of the families having children. The survey did not include one-person households. In general, the education and income were not high. The average grade in school completed was 8.9 for husbands and 9.2 for wives. About 50% of the families had incomes below $6,000, while only 18% reported an income above $9,000.

DIVISION OF LABOR

In examining the division of labor in family functioning, one of the questions asked was: "Do you believe that husbands and wives should keep their work in the home mostly separate, the husband doing the man's job and the wife doing the woman's job, or do you think the work should be mostly shared?"

Seventy-four percent indicated that they believed in sharing tasks as compared to 26% that indicated husband and wife division of tasks. Such a condition of shared tasks or functions should contribute toward total functioning ability since both spouses can rely more upon the other in times of stress. However, this was not as apparent when specific tasks were examined; there was more of a division of labor by sex roles. The conclusion may be that these families believe in shared roles but in actual family functioning there is a certain division along traditional lines.

DECISION-MAKING

Information was also obtained on family decision-making. When asked to define the main source of authority in the family (Table 1), the husband or male head was designated in 68% of the families; an even greater percentage of male participation is evidenced by combining the categories of husband or male head with husband and wife. When these categories are combined, 88% of the families indicated the presence of a major male role in decision-making, whereas only 10% perceived the female alone as the main source of authority.

Similar findings were derived from asking the participants to name the family member making the most important decisions (Table 1). Here, too, the husband or male head is perceived as dominant, making the most important decisions in 60% of the families. This percentage of male influence is increased to 85% when both the husband and wife are considered equally responsible for important decisions. These two findings seem on the surface contradictory to a supposedly equal division of labor. According to the resource theory of family power (Blood and Wolfe, 1960), each spouse in an economically equalitarian-functioning family

TABLE 1. FAMILY DECISION-MAKING

Main source of authority			makes most important decisions	
Family Member	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Husband or male head	170	68	151	60
Wife or female head	25	20	29	12
Both husband and wife	49	20	63	25
Other family member	4	2	5	2
All family members	2	1	2	1
TOTAL	250	101*	250	100

* Exceeds 100 due to rounding

should have relatively equal decision-making authority.

Clarification of this paradox was found by examining family conflict and resolution. In determining which spouse gets his or her own way when there is a disagreement, it was found that the husband (24%) was dominant only slightly more often than when a compromise was reached (22%); also, the wife alone had a substantial number of occasions when she got her own way (12%). What is even more interesting is the fact that 33% of the families reported that they did not know who got their way in a disagreement.

The families were also asked to name the perceived sources of their disagreements. As indicated in Table 2, almost half (48%) incidated that they did not know or could not think of anything. This response was followed by disagreements over money, work, and child rearing; this was consistent with urban findings (Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976).

Also consistent with urban findings was the fact that only a small percentage of couples reported disagreements in other areas; different life styles, different friends, different opinions, drinking or staying away from home, religion and politics, and in-law trouble (Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976). To summarize, the wife reports her husband dominant in decision-making processes; however, in areas of conflict or those decisions of significant concern to her, she reports that she exercises relatively equal authority.

TABLE 2. SOURCES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE DISAGREEMENTS

Source	Number and percent of families No.	Pct.
Money	29	13
Work (where to live, working too much, wife working, etc.)	24	10
Child rearing	23	10
Drinking or staying away from home	12	5
Religion or politics	13	6
Different life styles, different friends, different opinions	12	5
In-law trouble	6	3
Don't know or can't think of anything	109	48
TOTAL	228	100

Examination of the disagreements and resolutions of parents with their children was based on a smaller sample size (129 families) because many families either had no children or had children that had left home. Disagreements with children over not minding, going places, or what they could do around the house were the most frequent. Such disagreements are not so very different from the norm in the U.S. (Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976).

When asked who got their way when children disagree with their parents (Table 3), the father (4%) won far less frequently than the mother (46%) or when a compromise was reached 14%) and the same as parents together (4%); what is even more interesting is the fact that the fathers got their way even less frequently than the children themselves (32%). This finding emphasizes the gap between peceived dominance and actual functioning in the decision-making processes related to child rearing.

The implication based on responses to previous questions on source of authority, decision-making, and disagreements between husband and wife seems to be that while the husband is granted the status as being generally more dominant in the rural family, he actually is more dominant only in certain areas. The wife has certain domains of equal responsibility and dominance, and she exercises a strong role in family deci-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF DISAGREEMENT WITH CHILDREN

Source	Number and percent of families No.	Pct.
Not minding	32	25
Going places, staying away from home	30	23
What they can do around the house (when to go to bed, television programs to watch, etc.)	23	18
Dress, long hair	12	9
Work	11	9
Differences in opinion (wanting own apartment, own car, etc.)	8	6
Dating	7	5
Money	6	5
TOTAL	129	100

sion-making in these respective areas, particularly in child rearing functions.

ROLE OF CHILDREN

In regard to the aforementioned decisive role of children in family disagreements, it is clear that children in these rural families exercise a central power role comparable to the urban norm. Burchinal (1964) states that the increasing education of rural youth will eventually result in the convergence of rural and urban norms. When parents were asked to state what grade they would like to see their child finish, 45% stated high school and 42% stated college. This gives further support to the hypothesis that rural parents are conforming more to the urban norm of socializing children for societal roles outside their own family economic unit.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The results of this study provide some indications of the rural family's response to societal change. A traditional division of labor by sex roles seems to have been rejected in principle, though not in all behavior. In examining family decision-making, however, husbands were perceived in the traditional role of the main source of authority, making the most important decisions. However, by examining husband and wife disagreements, it appears that the husband does not exercise much more power than the wife in getting his way. Moreover, when children are involved in disagreements, the wife and even the children seem to exercise more power than the husband. Thus, there seems to be a discrepancy in these rural families between their perception and actual practice of traditional sex-role behaviors.

Such findings indicate that we need additional information to clarify the extent of sex-role change in these rural families. These findings also indicate that the role of the rural child in the family has changed markedly in response to overall societal change. Not only does the child wield more power in the family, but she is being socialized to take advantage of a wider variety of societal roles.

More important, however, those that work on a day-to-day basis with rural families need to understand the dynamics involved in the interaction between family members' role perceptions and their actual behaviors. For example, program information probably should be funneled through fathers as perceived heads of these rural Tennessee families for its greatest impact. Since this study indicated that much real power rests with the wife and children, a total family approach is needed

Home Economics Extension activity usually focuses on the homemaker in the family defined in the traditional sense. Perhaps what is needed most of all in helping rural families deal with conflicts revealed by this study are activities that focus on the family as a system. The beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes of one family member affect the beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes of each other member. Clearly modern rural families are trying hard to resolve the role conflicts precipitated by a rapidly changing society, but there are all too few institutions and other support systems available to assist them.

Agricultural and Home Economics Extension has functioned as continuing resources for the well-being of rural families. This study would support the need for programs that deal specifically with sex-role definitions, patterns of decision-making, and changing values.

REFERENCES

Blood, R.O. and Wolfe, D.M. *Husbands and Wives.* New York: Free Press, 1960.

Burchinal, L.G. *Our Changing Rural Society: Perspectives and Trends.* Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1964.

Scanzoni, L. and Scanzoni, J. *Men, Women, and Change: A Sociology of Marriage and the Family* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976.

UNIT III

FEMALE ROLE MODELS: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY

Unit III
Lesson 6

WOMEN'S HISTORY: LOST, STOLEN OR STRAYED

INTRODUCTION

Because of sex-role assignment, the experiences of Appalachian females are different from those of Appalachian males. However, written histories of the region reflect primarily the experiences and activities of the men of the region. While the events and situations currently recorded have indeed been a part of women's lives, a full treatment of the experiences of Appalachian women has yet to be compiled.

In her 1974 book, *Herstory—A Woman's View of American History,* June Sochen describes her writing as a "feminist-humanist" commentary on American history. In her opinion, women are not viewed as equal partners with men by the historians (mostly male) who have written about the experience of building America. She argues that all people who lived here should be included in the documentation of America's past. "Women, children, Blacks, and American Indians all worked, fought, loved, and hated alongside WASMs (white Anglo-Saxon males), the power-holders of the country. Their story requires inclusion in any re-creation of the past." (Sochen, 1974, p. 4)

An analysis of history books reveals clearly that the American education system produces half-educated children; our schools teach about the experiences, contributions, and lives of half the American population—the half that is male. Partly because historians concern themselves with the public sphere more than the private, and partly because the contributions of women have simply been devalued, ignored, or stolen, history books teach much about our founding fathers and little or nothing about our founding mothers. Understanding the need to develop and teach a history of women in general is basic to understanding the need for a study of Appalachian women's contributions to the region.

OBJECTIVE

1. **To develop an awareness of the need for more information on women's lives, experiences, and contributions in history.**
2. **To examine one's awareness of Appalachian women's history.**

Pages 78, 79, 80 - blank

FACILITATOR PREPARATION

Acquire and read copies of the Trecker article, "Women in U.S. History High School Textbooks," and the Rosen Article, "Sexism in History." Obtain the film *The Emerging Woman* to show in class (See Suggested Media Resources).

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Activity I: History: His Story or Her Story? (Objective 1)

1. Assign the reading of the following two articles prior to class meeting: "Sexism in History" (Rosen, 1974); and "Women in U.S. History High School Textbooks" (Trecker, 1974), listed in the bibliography for this lesson.

2. Ask students to respond to the following questions and directions:

   a. List six *men* you admire from history.

   b. List six *women* you admire from history.

   c. Which list did you have an easier time doing?

   d. Why is it easier to generate one list than the other?

   Now think about yourself in the center of a historical circle with the significant women and men in your life surrounding you. Go back into history as far as you can. Write in the circle the names of women and men significant to you now, and those from history with whom you identify. If you could not think of many women from the past, what may that mean for you now?

3. Ask volunteers to share their experiences in the first part of the exercise. A class discussion can then focus around discussion questions such as:

   a. How many people found it easier to compile a list of men than of women?

   b. How many people found it easier to compile a list of women than of men?

   c. Why might one list be easier than the other?

   d. What factors have influenced the ease with which you compile a list?

   e. How do our values influence the choice of individuals we consider important?

   f. What are the commonly held values which are used to select those people having made a significant historical contribution?

g. Do you agree or disagree with those values? Why?

h. Do we value equally contributions in the public and private spheres of life? If not, how has this differential valuing affected women's history?

4. Ask volunteers to share their experiences in the second part of the exercise. Focus the class discussion with questions such as:

   a. What factors influenced those of you who listed a number of significant women in your life?

   b. What influenced those of you listing only a few?

   c. What is a role model?

   d. Why is it important to have both female and male role models?

   e. What are some disadvantages for females lacking in a wide variety of historical role models who were engaged in numerous activities?

5. Ask the class to form small groups of 5-6 people. Each group should have a member to act as recorder. Each group should then discuss and agree on at least five criteria they would use in selecting a person who has made a significant historical contribution. Ask each recorder to share the conclusions of the group with the entire class.

Activity II: American Herstory (Objective 1)

1. Administer the American Herstory quiz (included in this lesson) to the students.

2. Discuss the correct answers to the quiz.

3. After the quiz has been completed by the group, determine how many students answered 11 questions correctly; 10 questions correctly; 9 questions correctly, etc.; and put the frequency of distribution on the chalkboard.

4. Encourage the group members to discuss their performance on the quiz. Help them determine the reasons for the quality of their performance—whether the quality is excellent or poor. Some of the discussion questions from Activity I, part 3 and 4, could be used to facilitate the discussion.

Activity III: Appalachian Dilemma (Objective 2)

1. Students should repeat exercise I, using only examples from Appalachian history. For example, "List 6 Appalachian women who . . ."
2. Discuss the following questions after students have completed the first step:
   a. Why are we unable to answer as completely those questions about Appalachian culture?
   b. What changes could be incorporated into education, media, advertising, music, and politics which could remedy the lack of Appalachian historical information?

WOMEN'S HISTORY: LOST, STOLEN OR STRAYED

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Lord, S. Educator, Educate Her. *Tennessee Education,* Fall, 1974.

Papachristou, J. *Women Together: A History in Documents of the Women's Movement in the United States.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

* Rosen, Ruth. Sexism in History. In J. Stacey, S. Bereaud, and J. Daniels (Eds.), *And Jill Came Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education.* New York: Dell, 1974, pp. 326-334.

Sochen, June. *Herstory—A Woman's View of American History.* New York: Alfred Publishing Co., 1974.

* Trecker, J.L. Women in U.S. History High School Textbooks. In J. Stacey, S. Bereaud, and J. Daniels (Eds.), *And Jill Came Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education.* New York: Dell, 1974, pp. 249-271.

* Readings required for this lesson.

APPENDIX: READINGS AND WORKSHEETS

ACTIVITY II: AMERICAN HERSTORY QUIZ*

Sharon B. Lord

Directions: Give yourself a point for each question to which you can respond YES.

1. Do you know that Eli Whitney didn't invent the cotton gin?
   Yes ___ No ___
2. Do you know the name of the woman who did?
   Yes ___ No ___
3. Do you know that several women successfully completed the early phases of the NASA astronaut training program?
   Yes ___ No ___
4. Do you know their fate in regard to that program?
   Yes ___ No ___
5. Do you know who Sojourner Truth was?
   Yes ___ No ___
6. Do you know the role she played in American history?
   Yes ___ No ___
7. Do you know who Elizabeth Cady Stanton was?
   Yes ___ No ___
8. Do you know the role she played in American history?
   Yes ___ No ___
9. Can you in sixty seconds, name 10 outstanding American women whose husband's or father's identity you do not know?
   Yes ___ No ___
10. Are you as familiar with our founding mothers as you are with our founding fathers?
    Yes ___ No ___
11. Do you know what is celebrated in America on August 26?
    Yes ___ No ___

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* From S. Lord, Educator, Educate Her. *Tennessee Education*, Fall, 1974. Reprinted with permission.

Answer Key to American Herstory Quiz

1/2 Catherine Littlefield Greene (Nathaniel Greene was her husband. Eli Whitney was a close acquaintance and frequent visitor in their home. Married women could not obtain legal patents.)

3/4 The involvement of the 11 women who successfully completed the first 2 phases was somewhat mysteriously discontinued by "orders from above." It remains to be seen how history will record this controversial event.

5/6 Sojourner Truth, a slave-born Black woman of the Nineteenth Century, was a pioneer in the fight for Black civil rights. She was the first Black to win a slander suit against prominent white citizens; she resorted to the law to free her son from bondage; and she forced compliance with the legal desegregation of streetcars in Washington, D.C. A legend in her own time, she became a renowned spokesperson for Black civil rights.

7/8 Elizabeth Cady Stanton was one of the foremost leaders in the women's rights movement in the nineteenth century. She was a Lyceum lecturer in the 1850's, founder of equal rights and suffrage associations, hardy suffrage campaigner in the western states, and coeditor of the massive first three volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage*.

11 Women's Equality Day is celebrated nationally in America on August 26. This date was chosen because women were granted the right to vote in America on August 26, 1920, with the ratification of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution. Some educators mistakenly teach their students that Blacks were granted the right to vote on March 30, 1870, when the 15th Amendment was ratified. It should be noted that only black *men* were granted the right to vote on that date. *Black women* and *white women* were not allowed to vote until 50 years later.

Unit III
Lesson 7

APPALACHIAN WOMEN IN TRADITIONAL ROLES

!NTRODUCTION

Women who worked in the domestic sphere, caring for children, maintaining homes and gardens, developing domestic technology, and managing family life, made significant contributions to Appalachian society, yet their contributions are seldom recorded in history books. Perhaps, it was because their labor was unpaid, and Americans have a way of thinking that women who work for no pay "don't work." Perhaps, it was because women's work was simply taken for granted or devalued. Perhaps, it was because "mountaineer" denoted only "male" to the naive historian, so that the lives of female mountaineers simply weren't addressed; or perhaps it was because historians categorically excluded work that did not fall under the domain of the public sphere.

In a nation that is oriented toward identifying "notable Americans" in our historical accounts, it is extremely notable that we neither note nor praise the masses of mountain women who daily filled the combined roles of nurturer, educator, domestic technologist, problem solver, nurse, builder, and farmer as they functioned in the traditional female role. Not only must the lives and contributions of these mountaineers be rediscovered and reclaimed, but a valuing of the significance of their contributions must be engendered in students. For too long, children have been educated to believe that "anyone can give birth to and raise children." The fact is that only 50% of the population can give birth to children. Perhaps it is women's power to create life and a resultant "womb envy" that is the source of efforts to oppress and ignore women.

Whatever the cause, we must remedy the omission of traditional women's contributions from Appalachian history. One could argue that it was much more notable to survive the challenges of the births and upbringing of 12 children in an isolated mountain cabin than to survive many lesser challenges faced by men which history books deem appropriate to record.

The purpose of this lesson is to introduce the student to resources which relate the everyday activities and contributions of those diligent mountaineers who were charged with promoting the development of Appalachian children and families and/or with caring for homes and human life on a day-to-day basis.

OBJECTIVES

1. **To familiarize the student with the contributions of women who worked in the domestic sphere or the traditional female role in Appalachian society.**
2. **To introduce the student to resources which describe the lives of Appalachian women.**

FACILITATOR PREPARATION

Read carefully the materials included with this lesson. Familiarize yourself with several readings from the annotated bibliography included with this lesson. Select objectives and learning activities which meet the needs of your learning/teaching situation.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Activity I: (Objectives 1 and 2)

1. Students should select articles from the attached annotated bibliographies or from other Appalachian publications, local newspapers, public documents, and private records such as personal journals.
2. After reading about the lives of at least six different Appalachian women, students should write a two- to three-paragraph summary on each woman and a bibliography.
3. Students should share their findings in a class presentation.
4. (Optional) A collection of biographies of Appalachian women should be compiled from the works of individual class members.
5. The following questions can be used to facilitate a discussion:
   a. How were the domestic contributions of Appalachian women essential to that culture's survival?
   b. What domestic contributions of Appalachian women most influence your daily life?
   c. How might these contributions be accorded more value in contemporary books, music, teaching, etc?
   d. Why do you think female mountaineers' contributions were unrecorded in history books? Support your opinion with points from the assigned articles.
   e. What evidence can you provide to show that Appalachian writers have generally used the term mountaineer to refer to males and male life experiences (even though they may argue they are using generic words such as "man, he, him, and his" to include women too)?

APPALACHIAN WOMEN IN TRADITIONAL ROLES

AN *ANNOTATED* BIBLIOGRAPHY*
BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Generations. *Women in the South.* Chapel Hill: Southern Exposure, 1977.

A compilation of articles focusing on the lives and experiences of Southern (and Appalachian) women.

Hagood, M. J. *Mothers of the South.* New York: Greenwood Press, 1939. Also available in reprint. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

In a study of 129 white tenant farm women living in 30 counties in the Piedmont section of North Carolina, Hagood points to four basic aspects of tenancy which affect the lives of women. They are: (1) the low level of living with its associated deprivations; (2) the lack of opportunity to achieve economic security; (3) the necessity of continual hard work demanded by farms and large families; (4) the tradition of the patriarchal family.

Kahn, K. *Hillbilly Women.* New York: Avon, 1974.

A collection of interviews with mountain women who candidly relate pride in their heritage and discuss openly their experiences as children, as labor organizers, as wives and widows of miners, as mothers, and as workers.

MAW: A magazine of Appalachian Women. Huntington, W. Va.: Appalachian Women, Inc.

MAW is a bimonthly publication focusing on Appalachian women, available from MAW, 745 7th St., Huntington, West Virginia 25701.

Mountain Life and Work. Special Women's Issue, Vol. 50, No. 6, 1974.

Traditionally, mountain women have had the task of obtaining medical care for their children and husbands as well as for themselves. This issue deals with the problems women face in seeking health care, welfare benefits, and adequate working conditions.

Wigginton, Eliot. *The Foxfire Book.* New York: Doubleday, 1972.

—This Is the Way I Was Raised Up, pp. 15-16.

A mountain woman, Mrs. Marvin Watts, recalls her girlhood family life experiences.

—Aunt Arie, pp. 17-30.

An interview with a strong, independent, self-sufficient mountain woman who insists on living alone.

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* Review Appendix B: Supplementary Bibliography on Appalachian Women for additional related resources.

— Making a Hamper Out of White Oak Splints, pp. 119-127.

Beulah Perry, a Black woman, and Aunt Arie are photographed giving basket-making instructions.

— Soapmaking, pp. 151-158.

Pearl Martin, the interviewer's grandmother, and three other women explain the process of soapmaking.

— A Quilt is Something Human, pp. 142-150.

From the viewpoint of the writers of this article, "quilts seems to us symbolic of some of our finer human qualities."

— Cooking on a Fireplace, Dutch Oven, and Wood Stove, pp. 158-164.

— Mountain Recipes, pp. 167-173.

— Preserving Vegetables, pp. 174-180.

— Preserving Fruit, pp. 181-184.

— Churning Your Own Butter, pp. 184-188.

A series of articles describing the preparation of food.

— Home Remedies, pp. 230-248.

Since medical facilities in the remote areas were scarce, home remedies were widely used. Recipes for home remedies are included in this article.

— Faith Healing, pp. 346-355.

Two women tell of their experiences as faith healers.

Wigginton, E. (Ed.). *Foxfire 2.* New York: Doubleday, 1973.

— Maude Shope, pp. 18-27.

This woman addresses topics such as her childhood, raising children, values, and religion. Her concluding remark is: "Why, I wouldn't swap this little shack here for th' finest house in New York. I wouldn't do it. That's just th' way I feel."

— From Raising Sheep to Weaving Cloth — Carding and Spinning — Dyeing with Wild Plants — Weaving.

Margaret Norton and Dean Beasley are photographed demonstrating carding and spinning skills. Several women contributed their recipes for dyeing with wild plants. Photographs of a 150-year-old loom belonging to Gertrude Keener are included as well as other illustrations of the weaving process and of intricately woven fabrics.

— How to Wash Clothes in an Iron Pot, pp. 256-265.

Mimi Dickerson recreates a weekly task of Appalachian women.

— Anna Howard, pp. 266-273.

A ninety-three-year-old woman relates her most vivid memories of childhood. Included are memories of her grandmother, such as: "She always went horseback, and she'd come to our house. Lord, we thought was th' queen of th' world."

— Midwives and Granny Women, pp. 274-303.

A registered nurse, nurse-midwife, and teacher who was involved in the formation of a maternity clinic in Rabun County, Georgia, is interviewed, as well as other people with midwiferey experience.

Wigginton, E. (Ed.) *Foxfire 3.* New York: Doubleday, 1975.

— Florence and Lawton Brooks, pp. 222-244.

These two people tell about their lives as children, their marriage, hard times during the depression, and changes in ways of living they have experienced.

— Beulah Perry, pp. 399-415.

A Black woman born before the turn of the century relates some of the changes in her life.

— Cornshuck Mops, Dolls and Hats, pp. 450-464.

Mountain people used materials at hand for functional items as well as crafts. Instructions are given for mops, dolls, and hats made from cornshucks.

— Aunt Nora Garland, pp. 464-481.

A mountain woman with a unique personality remembers how things were done when she was a girl. In *The Foxfire Book,* she is interviewed as a faith healer.

FILMS

Images of Country Women: A Patchwork Quilt (color)

Blue Ridge Films, 9003 Glenbrook Road, Fairfax, Virginia 22030.

Four rural women were filmed while discussing their everyday life—a woman who learned farming from her father; a Black woman who left the south but returned; an artist who is part of a movement of urban settlers; a housewife who has spent most of her life in the southernmost counties of West Virginia.

Nature's Way (color, 20 minutes)

Appalshop, Inc., Box 743, Whitesburg, Kentucky 41858.

Traditionally, Appalachian people have used herbs and home remedies to treat health problems. The highlight of the film is the delivery of twins by a midwife.

Quilting Women (color, 27 minutes)

Appalshop, Inc., P.O. Box 743, Whitesburg, Kentucky 41858.

Quilting, a female art form, is shown in process from cutting the pieces to a quilting bee finish. The film relates a value of cooperative effort, as well as a sense of satisfaction and pride.

Unit III
Lesson 8

APPALACHIAN WOMEN IN NON-TRADITIONAL ROLES

INTRODUCTION

A knowledge of Appalachian women's experiences and contributions to society is essential for all students in order for them to have a full understanding of the region's past; in addition, familiarity with the lives and experiences of women is especially important in female development. When presented with female role models who represent a wide range of life experiences, a young woman is better able to decide for herself which life style and occupation best suits her unique qualities, abilities and interests. This lesson focuses on the experiences of women, in historical and contemporary mountain society, whose contributions to the development of the region were outside the domestic sphere.

OBJECTIVES

1. **To familiarize the student with the contributions of women who worked in the public sphere in Appalachian society.**
2. **To introduce the student to resources which provide accounts of the lives of Appalachian women in non-traditional roles.**

FACILITATOR PREPARATION

Read carefully the materials included with this lesson. Familiarize yourself with several readings from the annotated bibliography included with this lesson. Select objectives and learning activities which meet the needs of your learning/teaching situation.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Activity I: (Objective 1)

1. Administer the Appalachian Herstory Matching Quiz included in this lesson.
2. Discuss the correct answers to the quiz.
3. After the quiz has been completed by the group, determine how many students answered 10 questions correctly; 9 questions correctly; 8 questions correctly, etc.; and put the frequency of distribution on the chalkboard.
4. Encourage the group members to discuss their performance on the quiz. Help them determine the reasons for the quality of their performance, whether the quality is excellent or poor.

Activity II: (Objectives 1 and 2)

1. Assign the students to review Appalachian publications such as *Appalachian Heritage, The Mountain Call,* etc., with the goal of discovering additional Appalachian role models in non-traditional roles.

Activity III: (Objectives 1 and 2)

1. Students should select articles from the attached annotated bibliographies or from other Appalachian publications, local newspapers, public documents, and private records such as personal journals.
2. After reading about the lives of at least six different Appalachian women, students should write a two- to three-paragraph summary of each woman and a bibliography.
3. Students should share their findings in a class presentation.
4. (Optional) A collection of biographies of Appalachian women could be compiled from the works of individual class members.

APPALACHIAN WOMEN IN NON-TRADITIONAL ROLES

AN *ANNOTATED* BIBLIOGRAPHY

Non-traditional female role models do exist in Appalachian literature. The following annotated list is presented as a beginning base and is by no means exhaustive. Since a great deal of basic research needs to be done, one suggestion for additional learning experiences for interested students is for them to research local newspapers, documents, and public and private records for women whose significant contributions have not yet been brought to the attention of historians.

Arnow, Harriette Louis Simpson

A writer and teacher who was born in Wayne County, Kentucky, in 1907. Among her works are *Seedtime on the Cumberland, Flowering of the Cumberland, Mountain Path,* and *The Dollmaker.* The character Gertie in *The Dollmaker* is one with whom migrant Appalachian women can identify.

Appalachian Heritage, Vol. 1, No. 4, Fall 1973, p. 14.

Arnow, Harriette. *The Dollmaker.* New York: Macmillan, 1954.

Eckley, Wilton. *Harriette Arnow.* New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974.

Berry, Martha

Educator and founder of Martha Berry School, in North Georgia, which is now Berry College.

Byers, Tracy. *Martha Berry: The Sunday Lady of Possum Trot.* New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1934.

Myers, Elizabeth P. *Angel of Appalachia, Martha Berry.* New York: Julian Messner, 1968.

Phelan, Mary Kay. *Martha Berry.* New York: Crowell, 1972.

* Review Appendix B: Supplementary Bibliography on Appalachian Women for additional related resources.

Boone, Jemima

Jemima Boone was the brave daughter of Daniel Boone who survived perilous circumstances, including capture by Indians.

Sutton, Margaret. *Jemima, Daughter of Daniel Boone.* New York: Scribner, 1942.

Breckenridge, Mary

As a registered nurse graduate, Mary Breckenridge went to the remote counties of Eastern Kentucky in 1923 to investigate health care conditions. She was director of Southeastern Kentucky's celebrated "nurses on horseback" and founder of Frontier Nursing Service.

Breckenridge, Mary. *Wide Neighborhoods: A Story of the Frontier Nursing Service.* New York: Harper and Row, 1952.

Mountain Life and Work, Vol. 40, No. 2 and Vol. 1, 1965, pp. 9-11.

Poole, Ernest. *Nurses on Horseback.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1932.

Tomasson, Verna. *Mary Breckenridge: First American Nurse-Midwife.* Appalachian Heritage, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1974, pp. 19-26.

Wilkie, Katherine Elliott. *Frontier Nurse: Mary Breckenridge.* New York: J. Messner, 1958.

Campbell, Olive Dame

An author writing about the region in the early 1900's. Among her contributions is *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* which she finished after the death of John C. Campbell, who began the work.

Jones, Loyal. The Surveys of the Appalachian Region. *Appalachian Heritage,* Vol. 4, No. 2, 1976.

Mountain Life and Work, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1954.

Davis, Rebecca Harding

As a 30-year-old unmarried woman living in the mid-1800's in what is now called Wheeling, West Virginia, she wrote *Life in the Iron Mills.* She was the oldest of five children and the daughter of a successful businessman. As a child, she was taught by her mother since there were no schools, and at 14 she was sent away from home to finishing school. Although she craved a more substantial education, she returned to Wheeling to face a life barren of intellectual stimulation but filled with tasks of helping her mother run the household. At some point, she began to write, and when she submitted her manuscript of "Life in the Iron Mills" or "The Korl Woman" to the *Atlantic Monthly,* she requested that it be published without her name. She continued to write, although her responsiblities to other people interfered with the development of her skills as a writer. When she died in 1910, no literary publication noted her death. Her other works include *Silhouettes of American Life,* which is a collection of stories set in the Southern mountains.

Davis, Rebecca Harding. *Life in the Iron Mills,* reprint 1861. Old Westbury, New York: The Feminist Press, 1972.

Dingman, Helen

Although it was not originally among her aspirations, she became editor of *Mountain Life and Work* in 1926. Many more women writers were represented in the publication after she became editor.

She Took Over. *Mountain Life and Work*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 1965, pp. 6-7.

Douglas, Clementine

Clementine Douglas came to the mountains in 1910. She worked with other people to encourage the production of crafts as a means of preserving the contribution of a culture and of providing a direct means of livelihood for people throughout the region.

Stevens, Bernice. *A Weavin' Woman: A Tribute to Clem Douglas.* (Booklet, CSM Bookstore.)

Dykeman, Wilma

A writer, lecturer, and homemaker who lives in Newport, Tennessee, she has been the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship, the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Trophy, and the Hillman Award for the best book of the year (1958) on world peace, race relations, or civil liberties. Her novels, *The Tall Woman, The Far Family,* and *Return the Innocent Earth,* include portrayals of Appalachian women. *Too Many People, Too Little Love* is a study of Edna Rankin McKinnon, who did pioneer work for population control in the Appalachian region, the United States, and around the world.

Ethridge, James M. and Barbara Kopala. *Contemporary Authors,* Vol. 2, p. 913.

Dykeman, Wilma. *The Far Family.* 1st Ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

Dykeman, Wilma. *Return the Innocent Earth.* 1st Ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.

Dykeman, Wilma. *The Tall Woman.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962.

Dykeman, Wilma. *Too Many People, Too Little Love.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974.

Dykeman, Wilma. *Tennessee Women, Past and present.* Memphis: Brunner, Inc.: Tennessee International Women's Decade Coordinating Committee, 1977.

Furman, Lucy

An author who was born in Henderson, Kentucky. Among her works is *The Quare Women* which is a fictionalized biography of Katherine Petit and Mae Stone, who founded Hindman Settlement School. A fictionalized autobiography of her early life is presented in her 1913 book, *Mothering on Perilous.*

Appalachian Heritage. Mankind, It Beats Hell Hollow. Vol. 1, No. 2, 1973.

Furman, Lucy. *Mothering on Perilous.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1913.

Furman, Lucy. *The Quare Women.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1923.

Hager, Francie "Granny"

She was a veteran of the 1930s' attempt to unionize coal miners, a leader of Roving Pickets in the 1960's, and chairperson of the Perry County Black Lung Association before her death in 1975.

Council of the Southern Mountains Bibliography on the Appalachian South, 1976-77, p. 27.

Granny Hager, In Memory and Honor. *Mountain Life and Work,* Vol. 51, No. 4.

Granny Hager Passes On. *The Mountain Call,* Vol. 2, No. 4, 1975, p. 15.

Kahn, Kathy. *Hillbilly Women.* New York: Avon, 1974, pp. 12-19.

Mountain Life and Work, Vols. 48, No. 8, 1972, and 49, No. 1, 1973.

Mountain Life and Work, Mountain Women in "Yesterday's People." Vol. 49 No. 11, 1973.

Phillip, B.J. Three Lives in Appalachia. *Ms,* Vol. 1, No. 7, 1972, pp. 99-106, 122.

Hall, Eula

She was born in Letcher County, Kentucky, and devoted her life to improving education in the rural areas of Eastern Kentucky. In 1929, she founded Homeplace Center which grew from health clinics that she had previously conducted.

Mountain Life and Work. Vol. 33, No. 1, 1957, p. 20.

Haun, Mildred

Although she left her Cocke County, Tennessee home intending to study medicine, she began writing during her last year at Vanderbilt. Her stories include topics such as midwifery, witchcraft, and recollections of granny-women. The dialect in *The Hawk's Done Gone* is considered closer to the oral tradition than any dialect collection in the South.

Haun, Mildred. *The Hawk's Done Gone and Other Stories.* 1940; rpt., Herschel Gower, Ed. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968.

Jones, Mary Harris (Mother Jones)

She was a forceful and picturesque figure of the American labor movement. Her agitation in the coal-fields of Appalachia gives her a special place in the history of the region.

Dix, Keith. Mother Jones. *Peoples Appalachia,* Vol. 1, No. 3, 1970, pp. 6-13.

Fetherling, Dale. *Mother Jones, The Miner's Angel.* Carbondale. Southern Illinois University Press, 1974.

Jones, Mary Harris. *Thoughts of Mother Jones: Compiled from her writings and speeches.* Huntington, W. Va.: Appalachian Movement Press, 1973.

Parton, Mary Field, Ed. and Jones, Mary Harris, Ed. *Autobiography of Mother Jones.* New York: Arco and New York Times, 1969.

Parton, Mary Field. *Autobiography of Mother Jones.* Chicago: Kerr, 1974.

Werstein, Irving. Labor's Defiant Lady: The Story of Mother Jones. *Women of American*. New York: Corwell, 1969.

Lloyd, Alice

She went to Caney Creek in 1916 with no support but her character and will, and with no reason other than her determination to see what she could do to help mountain people. Alice Lloyd College is the result of her vision and work.

Mountain Life and Work, Vol. 42, No. 3, 1966. pp. 2-5.

Miles, Emma Bell

A multi-talented woman who wrote *The Spirit of the Mountains* while living and teaching in a mountain community, Walden's Ridge, which was located near Chattanooga. Since Walden's Ridge was the home of her husband, Emma Bell Miles was torn between her life there and finding stimulation for and appreciation of her life as an intellectual, an artist, and a writer.

Miles, Emma Bell. *The Spirit of the Mountains*, 1905; rpt. Knoxville; University of Tennessee Press, 1975.

Murphy, Mary Noailles

During summer visits to Beersheba Springs in the Cumberland Mountains, she gathered materials for novels and stories which she published under the pseudonym of Charles Egbert Craddock.

Cary, Richard. *Mary N. Murfree*. United States Authors Series, No. 121. New York: Twayne Pub., 1967.

Parks, Edd Winfield. *Charles Egbert Craddock*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941.

Petit, Katherine

Katherine Petit founded, with Mae Stone, the Hindman Settlement School in Knott County, Kentucky. A fictionalized account of the school development appears in:

Furman, Lucy. *The Quare Woman*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1923.

Reece, Florence

As a union activist during the 1930's, she wrote "Which Side Are You On?" The song was effectively used as an organizing tool.

Kahn, Kathy. *Hillbilly Women*. New York: Avon, 1974, pp. 3-11.

"Which Side Are You On?" Black and White, 30-minute videotape, Broadside T.V.

Mountain Life and Work, Vol. 47, No. 11, 1971.

Ritchie, Jean

As the youngest member of the Ritchie family of Viper, Kentucky, she learned to play the dulcimer by watching and listening to her father. She is a collector of folk music of the Appalachian region as well as a song writer. Her contributions include a number of books and records.

Council of the Southern Mountains Bibliography, Berea, Kentucky, 1976-77, p. 66.

Ritchie, Jean. *Celebration of Life: Her Songs, Her Poems.* New York: Geordie Music Pub., 1971.

Ritchie, Jean. *Folk Songs of the Southern Appalachians; As Sung by Jean Ritchie.* New York: Oak Pub., 1965.

Ritchie, Jean. *Singing Family of the Cumberlands.* 1955; Reprint. New York: Oak Publications, 1963.

Wharton, May Cravath

Known as "Doctor Woman of the Cumberlands," she went to Pleasant Hill, Tennessee, in 1917. Her work with mountain people began during the 1918 flu epidemic.

Wharton, May Cravath. *Doctor Woman of the Cumberlands: The Autobiography of May Cravath Wharton, M.D.,* 1953. Reprint. Pleasant Hill, Tenn.: Uplands, 1972.

Mountain Life and Work, Vol. 19, No. 4, p. 15.

Mountain Life and Work, Vol, 36, No. 1, 1960.

Whitener, Catherine Evans

As a girl of 12, she experimented with a craft called "turfing." Later it evolved into "tufting" and became a full-fledged commercial trade which raised the economic level of her home—Whitfield County, Georgia. When the tufting machine came into use, the term "chenille" was used. A film, "The Magnificent Needle," was made to tell the story of the tufted textile industry and the invaluable contribution made by Catherine Evans Whitener.

Mountain Life and Work, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1965, pp. 9-11.

Wiley, Jennie Sellards

A pioneer woman who was captured by Indians from her home near Harmon's Station, Kentucky. Her brother and children were killed, and she escaped after a harrowing eleven months in captivity. With her husband, she then migrated to the Big Sandy Valley in 1800 where she died in 1831. The story of her captivity is part of the folklore of that area.

Bennett, John Nathan. *Jennie Wiley, Pioneer: The True Story of a Virginia Frontier Heroine.* 1st Ed. New York: Exposition Press, 1955.

Scalf, Henry P. The Captivity of Jenny Wiley. *Kentucky's Last Frontier.* Prestonburg, Kentucky: Henry P. Scalf, 1966, pp. 79-90.

Withington, Alfreda Bosworth

In 1924, she went to the Kentucky mountains as a physician. her writings include detailed accounts of her perception of mountain women.

Withington, Alfreda. Mountain Doctor. *Atlantic Monthly,* Vol. 150, Nos. 3, 4, 6, 1932, pp. 257, 469, 768.

Withington, Alfreda Bosworth. *Mine Eyes Have Seen: A Woman Doctor's Saga.* New York: Dutton, 1941.

APPENDIX: READINGS AND WORKSHEETS

ACTIVITY I: APPALACHIAN HERSTORY MATCHING QUIZ*

Sharon Burmeister Lord

Match the following:

1 ____ Mary Breckenridge
2 ____ Alice Lloyd
3 ____ Emma Bell Miles
4 ____ Wilma Dykeman
5 ____ Harriet Arnow
6 ____ Katherine Pettit
7 ____ Mildred Haun
8 ____ Florence Reese
9 ____ Mary Murfree
10 ____ Francis "Granny" Hager

a. Contemporary writer - *The Tall Woman*
b. Writer - *The Dollmaker*
c. Tennessee woman who organized miners in East Kentucky; wrote famous song—"Which Side Are You On?"
d. First American nurse/midwife; started the Frontier Nursing Service in Hyden, Kentucky, in 1925
e. Power organizer for UMW and activist for welfare rights and black lung compensation for miners and widows in Kentucky
f. Sensitive writer on mountain people and their culture; author of the *Spirit of the Mountains*
g. Educator, established Caney Creek Community College
h. Writer; her works are collected in *The Tennessee Mountains* under the name of Charles Egbert Craddock
i. Wrote *Hawks Done Gone* and *Cocke County Ballads and Songs* (one of the best, most comprehensive books of superstitions)
j. Co-founded Hindman Settlement School; rode through the mountains collecting ballads and delivering seeds - thus called the "blossom woman" wherever she went; she set up schools and libraries

* from S. Lord. "The Joys and Struggles of Mountain Women." Reprinted by permission.
Art work by Nan Scott.

ANSWER KEY: 1. d; 2. g; 3. f; 4. a; 5. b; 6. j; 7. i; 8. c; 9. h; 10. e.

UNIT IV

PSYCHO-SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE FEMALE EXPERIENCE IN APPALACHIA

Unit IV
Lesson 9

APPALACHIAN WOMEN AND WORK

INTRODUCTION

As was pointed out in Unit II, Sex Roles in Appalachia, many mountain women currently work in the paid labor force in predominantly low-paying jobs, in addition to assuming responsibility for domestic tasks and the maintenance of the family. In some sections of Appalachia where jobs are available, a higher proportion of females are in the paid labor force than is the case in the nation at large; in these sections of Appalachia, 45.1 percent of females who are 16 years or older are in the paid labor force. Outmigration of women has occurred in the counties where jobs are not available (Florin, 1977).

In some areas, women with children are in the paid labor force in higher proportions than women without children; yet adequate child-care services are not readily available. In most cases, working women have fewer employment options than men, and earn far less than their male counterparts. Up until recently, sex-role stereotyped expectations have kept women from finding employment in occupations such as mining. Breaking into traditionally male fields is currently an employment problem for mountain women.

The extreme employment-related problems experienced by women are summarized by Kahn (1974) as: high unemployment, minimal job opportunities, low pay, limited advancement, dangerous transportation systems, lack of child-care facilities, and occupationally related health hazards such as brown-lung disease.

Unfortunately, women who work in the home without pay are often referred to as "not working," which has the effect of devaluing the work contributions of many mountain women.

This lesson provides the student an opportunity to examine the literature on mountain women and work.

Pages 103, 104- blank

OBJECTIVES

To explore the economic role of women in the Appalachian region and the conditions surrounding their work in both the paid and unpaid labor force.

FACILITATOR PREPARATION

Read "Appalachia, Women and Work" by Axelrod (included with this lesson). Review the learning activities and choose those most appropriate for your learning/ teaching situation.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Activity I:

1. Assign reading of:
   a. *Hillbilly Women* (Kahn, 1974)
   b. "Appalachia, Women and Work" (Axelrod, 1978) (included with this lesson)
2. Distribute to students the annotated bibliography on Appalachian Women and Work, included with this lesson. Ask the students to read at least 5 entries from the bibliography.
3. Ask students to develop profiles characteristic of Appalachian women working outside the home in various occupations. The profiles will differ depending on the section of Appalachia in which the woman lives and the type of employment she has secured. Variables which could be included in the profile are: income, transportation demands, provision for child care, opportunities for advancement, benefits, hazards, etc.
4. Discuss these profiles in a class session.

Activity II:

1. Assign the same readings as in Activity I.
2. Distribute to students the annotated bibliography on Appalachian Women and Work.
3. Ask students to profile characteristics of Appalachian women who work but are not paid for their work, such as women employed in the home, women unionizers, women working as volunteers. What are the work tasks and contributions of these women? How might they be compensated for their work presently? What changes could occur which would allow them to be paid for their work?

Activity III:

After completing Activities I and II, students should be asked to write a position paper on the topic "strategies for providing women full access to employment in Appalachia."

Activity IV:

Familiarize yourself with the attached annotated bibliography and distribute it to students. Students can design independent learning projects related to Appalachian women in the labor force as described in the introduction to this text.

APPALACHIAN WOMEN AND WORK

AN *ANNOTATED* BIBLIOGRAPHY
BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Ansley, Fern and Brenda Bell. Diagnosis: Work-related disease. *Mountain Life and Work*. Vol. 50, No. 6, 1974.

Women in Appalachian garment factories and cotton mills face certain health and safety hazards. One hazard which has not been systematically studied is the effect of certain chemicals produced by the factories upon women's reproductive systems. However, the most pervasive and primary condition faced in the mill is stress. Women are not only pushed and expected to produce rapidly and economically, but also they have strenuous chores at home. There is no time for rest and relaxation, and their bodies suffer from such ailments as ulcers, migraine, asthma, and heart disease. Factors contributing to women's health problems in factories are poor environmental conditions and lack of adequate compensation. Women can effect changes in their unhealthy environments by contacting certain health and safety organizations, preferably in groups.

Calloway, Leslie. Education can widen the world for mountain women. *The Mountain Eagle*, No. 4, 1976.

A report on the Appalachian Consultation on the Educational Needs of Rural Women and Girls, by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) Task Advisory Committee.

Church, Ruth and Cathy Stanley. Women miners—in the 40's—today. *Mountain Life and Work*, Vol. 50, No. 11, 1974, pp. 14-15.

Sue Fields and Alice Clifton tell of their experiences in the mines from 1940-1952, and about applying for black lung benefits. Dorothy Ann Davis and Rebecca Marie Collins are the first females to be hired for underground work by Island Creek.

Clarenbach, Kathryn F. Educational Needs of Rural Women and Girls: Report of National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, January, 1977.

The Council, which is to advise the Assistant Secretary for Education concerning the improvement of educational equity for women, confirms their belief that various groups of rural women in the U.S. have unmet needs. The report sketchily deals with Appalachia but points out problems of poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy. The ARC is emphasized as the government agency most highly developed to deal with the educational issues. Educational needs common to U.S. rural women are given in the following categories: needs for personal growth and recognition; political participation and legal rights; health education and health care; child care; counseling and career placement; experiences to remove sex-role stereotyping in secondary and elementary schools; programs to teach people about their own region; educational delivery systems to meet rural needs.

Collins, Thomas W. and Clata Finn. Mountain Women in a Changing Labor Market.

This paper analyzes the effects of industrial development in a rural Tennessee county on traditional female roles. New plants located in the county are representative of the peripheral sector of the national economy and hence must obtain most of their employees from the female labor market. In such a situation, women gain a greater degree of power relative to their husbands but remain in a static position in relation to the wider society.

Facilitating Career Development for Girls and Women. Monograph of the National Vocational Guidance Association. American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1607 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20009.

The National Vocational Guidance Association, the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, and the North Carolina Commission of Education and Employment of Women sponsored a workshop at Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina, in July 1973. Selections from papers presented at this workshop address topics such as career options and career barriers.

Florin, John W. Varieties of Southern Women. *Southern Exposure*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1977, pp. 95-97.

Although women in the South are not demographically much different from women elsewhere in the U.S., differences do exist within the South. The Appalachian portion of Eastern Kentucky has a long tradition of poverty and a high fertility rate. Heavy outmigration of females from the area has resulted in a male majority in many counties. Many women move to urban areas to take advantage of jobs in traditional female occupations such as secretarial and clerical employment.

The textile industry in Southern Appalachia employs mostly females. In this region of small manufacturers, North and South Carolina lead the nation in the percentage of married women in the labor force. The coal region portion of Appalachia has an extremely low percentage of married women in the labor force. This is resulting in a movement of "cut and sew" operations into the region to take advantage of a reservoir of cheap labor.

In the South as a whole, women are heads of over one-third of black families and one-fifth of white families. These families comprise 60 percent of those living below the poverty line.

Hagood, Margaret J. *Mothers of the South*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1939. Reprint. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

In a study of 129 white tenant farm women living in 30 counties in the Piedmont section of North Carolina, Hagood points to four basic aspects of tenancy which affect the lives of women. They are: 1) the low level of living with its associated deprivations, 2) the lack of opportunity to achieve economic security, 3) the necessity of continual hard work demanded by farms and large families, 4) the tradition of the partriarchal family.

Influences on Occupational Goals of Young People in Three Southern Subcultures. Southern Regional Research Project 5-63. Knoxville, Tenn.: Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, June, 1973.

A technical report of the Southern Regional Committee for Family Life which presents research comparing the influence of parents (mothers) on occupational goals of urban black, rural black and rural white children.

Kahn, Kathy. *Hillbilly Women*. New York: Avon, 1974.

A collection of interviews with mountain women who candidly relate pride in their heritage and discuss openly their experiences as children, as labor organizers, as wives and widows of miners, as mothers, and as workers.

Ladner, Joyce A. Women in Poverty: Its Roots and Effects. *What Is Happening to American Women?* Ed. Anne Firor Scott. Atlanta: Southern Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation.

Ladner points to the myths about the poor and the controversy in defining those who are poor. In her opinion, two general theories are used to explain the dynamics of poverty. One is the subcultural theory, in which the poor comprise a specific culture of their own with common values, norms, beliefs, and attitudes. The other is a situational perspective, in which the poor hold common values with the nonpoor, but their actual behavior is different because of the inability to achieve valued goals because of economic inequities. In 1965, among the poor, women outnumbered men 3 to 2. The female-headed family unit is the most affected by poverty, with urban black female-headed families most affected. Of the 19.5 million persons aged 16 and over among the nation's poor, 11.8 million were women. In the age group 65 or older, there were nearly 2 women living in poverty for every man. Many mothers must be major breadwinners so child care becomes a problem. Welfare payments are grossly inadequate, as well as housing. Furthermore, poor employed women receive far less for their services than men.

Mountain Life and Work, Vol. 48, No. 10, 1972, pp. 2-7.

Ruth Hutchison is the first woman deputy sheriff in the history of Buchanan County, Virginia. She has lived in Buchanan County for 21 years. Her qualifications include 15 years' experience as a nurse and 4 years' experience as a radio operator.

Phillip, B.J. Three Lives in Appalachia. *Ms*, Vol. 1, No. 7, 1972, pp. 99-106, 122.

Interviews with three women—Granny Hager, Bessie Smith, and Pat Davis—focus on the different situations of women in Appalachia. Granny Hager, who fought for black lung benefits for miner's wives in Eastern Kentucky, discusses the effects of mining disasters on women and children. Bessie Smith, a leader in the opposition of strip mining and divorced mothers, relates her experiences with the welfare system. Pat Davis, a woman who left the mountains, but returned to do social work, discusses the effects of education on her life and the alienation she felt from her culture.

Randolph County's Working Women. *Southern Exposure*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1977, p. 67.

Randolph County, in the Piedmont region of North Carolina, has a long history of women in the textile labor force. From 1910 to 1960, the proportion of women grew steadily. During the 60's, the proportion jumped from 52 percent to 60 percent. The Randolph Committee on the Status of Women in 1976 reported that married women with young children are more than twice as likely to work as are such women generally (58 percent to 28.5 percent); child-care services are inadequate and expensive; the major problem women face is operating a home and filling a full time job. Moreover, men in Randolph earn more than women in virtually every line of work and every educational level. A typical male worker made $5,777 in 1970, while typical female workers made $3,795. Since the county is at the very bottom of the industrial wage structure, by going to work, women have spared families from poverty.

Textiles. *Mountain Life and Work*, Vol. 49, No. 4, 1973.

Northeastern Alabama, Northern Georgia, Southeastern Tennessee, Western North Carolina, and Northwestern South Carolina are parts of Appalachia characterized by cotton mills. Articles in this special issue on mountain textiles are concerned with working conditions and brown lung occurring in cotton mills.

Woman at Work. *Newsweek*, Vol. 88, No. 23, 1976, pp. 68-75.

Women are rapidly joining the labor force with 1.6 million entering in 1976. In all, 38.6 million women now hold jobs or are actively looking; they make up 48 percent of all women in the nation. Although more are working, for the most part they are doing the kinds of jobs they have always done. Women are employed as waitresses, seamstresses, secretaries, bookkeepers, nurses, and teachers. More women now work because they have to. Nineteen percent are either widowed, divorced or separated, 23 percent are single and another 26 percent are married to men who earn less than $10,000 a year.

Breaking down occupational segregation is of foremost concern. Nurses are women, doctors are men; women are secretaries, men are executives. Discrimination and cultural conditioning are the underlying causes of occupational segregation and the major reason that women earn far less money than men. On the average women earn 59 percent as much as men, a gap that is wider now than twenty years ago. In secondary schools, the average salary for women teachers is only 81 percent of that of men, female scientists earn 76 percent as much as male colleagues, and female engineers 85 percent as much.

Women in the Coal Industry: A Story of Pioneers. Available from Coal Employment Project, Betty J. Hall, Director, Box 3403, Oak Ridge, Tn. 37830.

Details the story of mountain women's struggle against sex discrimination in the coal industry.

FILMS

Foxfire: Contemporary McGraw-Hill, 21 minutes, color, 16 mm

In 1964, Eliot Wigginton, a high school English teacher in Rabun Gap, Georgia, started an educational revolution by beginning a magazine called *Foxfire.* The contents of the magazine consisted of material gathered by his students from conversations with the older people of this Appalachian community. From those conversations came superstitions, old home remedies, weather signs, directions for planting by the signs, and many other "old-time" ways of doing things.

An excellent film for students and people who are preparing to work in the Appalachian region.

Harlan County, U.S.A: Barbara Kopple, 100 minutes, color, 1976.

(Reviewed in April 1977 *Ms.*)

The story of the struggle for unionization of coal mines is told through an account of the 1973 Brookside Mine workers strike, which resulted from their decision to join UMWA and the objection to their decision by Duke Power Co. The film deals with the problems of coal mining and the effects on the lives of women and children. During the strike women were supportive by collecting funds, staffing picket lines, and organizing other workers.

Millstone Sewing Center: 10 minutes, black and white, 16 mm, 1972

Mabel Kiser, an Appalachian rural woman, obtained an OEO grant to organize a sewing center to make clothes for families in need. The center provided jobs for women, some of whom would have to obtain public assistance without the opportunity for a job. The sewing center's funds were cut before the film was finished and the center was consequently closed.

RELATED ARTICLES

Axelrod, J. Appalachia, Women, and Work. *MAW.* January-February, 1978.

Clarenbach, K.F. *Educational Needs of Rural Women and Girls.* Washington, D.C.: National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, 1977.

Florin, J.W. Varieties of Southern Women. *Southern Exposure,* IV(4), 1977.

Lewis, M.W. *National Education Programs for Rural Women.* Washington: Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, 1976. (mimeographed)

Loomis, R. and Starry, R. Rural Winnings. *Journal of Employment Counseling,* December 1974, 183-186.

Moser, C. and Johnson, D. *Rural Women Workers in the 20th Century: An Annotated Bibliography.* East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1973.

Ms. Farmer: Interest in Women's Rights Grows in Croplands. *Chicago Daily News,* September 16, 1975.

Reed, H.M. and Kuipers, J.L. *Rural Family Functioning* (Bulletin 562). Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, October 1976.

Southworth, L.E. and Kuipers, J.L. *Influences on Goals of Young People in Rural Appalachia.* Tennessee Farm and Home Science Progress Report 98—April, May, June 1976. The University of Tennessee Experiment Station, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Special Women's Issue. *Mountain Life and Work,* 50(6), 1974.

APPENDIX: READINGS AND WORKSHEETS

ACTIVITY I: APPALACHIA, WOMEN AND WORK*

by Jennifer Axelrod

In the present decade of the 1970's Appalachia is being discovered by the rest of the United States. Twice before this discovery had been made—first in the 1890's and then again in the 1920's—only to be forgotten again.

Looking back into the literature of those discoveries, one finds Appalachia's unique way of life attributed to its mountain-girth isolation—with only occasional consideration of that way of life's suitability for the people who were living it. The ways of hill folk were presented as an anachronism from which the rest of the U.S. had little to learn, and to which it had much to teach.

In the 1890's, for instance, schools funded from the North were started hither and yon in a fervor of educationitis. Hill children were to be helped to 'catch up' with their peers in New England and the Midwest.

In the 1920's such paternalism was more subdued. Appalachians were given some chance to interpret *themselves* to the rest of the country, as at the internationally known folk theater of the South at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. But such scattered forums—like the scattered schools before them in the 90's—depended on outside funds and encouragement. The extent of the gulf between the viewpoint of the mountaineer and that of Americans elsewhere had yet to be fathomed.

It's only now in the 1970's that a few people are beginning to suspect that maybe most of America is the anachronism and Appalachia the wave of the future. The *Foxfire* books from northern Georgia are telling America about Appalachia's ancient labors of love, but there's another side to that coin about which drawing room society is no less desirous of input today that it was in the 1890's. Namely, Appalachia's ancient indifference to its reception elsewhere.

From the very beginnings of America's pageant the people who settled the Appalachians have been voluntary exiles from that pageant and largely indifferent to it. Harry Caudill in *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* writes that when the first explorers reached the area now encompassed by West Virginia and Kentucky they occasionally happened upon entire English families settled and prospering. The grandmothers and grandfathers among them had sometimes been born and raised right there. This was in the early decades, mind you, of the 1700's. The story behind *why* those families had chosen so remote a fastness in which to dwell was apparently never deemed noteworthy enough to occupy the valuable time of such explorers. Flora and fauna and Indian grammers were closer to their hearts than the tales of these common folk who spoke their own language.

But the 'why' of their coming isn't completely inaccessible to us. Seventeenth century America was on the whole a quite rigid class phenomenon. Vast tracts of land were owned and tightly administered by the holders of royal grants, and few of these landlords shared the enlightened view of William Penn regarding the rights of lower-class folk. (See *Learning from History* by William Appleton Williams.)

On the other hand, to every hearty individual who reached these shores the option of complete liberty existed just 300 miles' walk from the eastern seaboard. Anywhere from Georgia to Quebec you could get off the boat and start walking and in two or three weeks find yourself in a trackless forest thick with game. How many there must have been who took just such a walk rather than obediently reporting in to their passage sponsors for seven years of indentured labor.

But talk about labor!

It was a grueling life and remains so to this day. A woman's day as well as a man's was often an endurance marathon of felling trees and digging out the stumps, of raising logs higher and higher in hopes of getting a roof overhead by winter, of clearing pasture to support the stock.

In addition to her outdoor toil, the wilderness woman had to grind corn three times a day. Corn was the staple—with deer or turkey or possum or squirrel whenever possible. Of an evening the families would draw close to their fires and find entertainment in rememering the songs and ballads they had learned across the sea in the sweet days of youth. They would never see England again but they sowed seeds in these hills from the finest flowering English culture would ever know. Many a fiddle got carved by the evening fire, and the women of Appalachia, no less than the men, have never been known for abstinence from song.

No, the story was not recorded by the literate—by the explorers who found hospitality with these humble folk—but their story can nevertheless be read today. Not the stories of the families who didn't survive (for Indians, bears and snakes took their toll) but much about those who *did* survive can be reconstructed today by studying the axes and adzes, broad-axes and planes, knives and rifles still being turned out by their direct descendents. The skill and care that go into mountain crafts were originally inspired by the 'craftsman's' will to survive.

Such was the first phase of Appalachian womankind's labor history.

The sequels have been less wholesome, but to them we now turn.

The sequels have been twofold. Industry has come to the mountain people, and the mountain people have gone to industry.

Industry in the form of timbering, coal mining, railroading, and oil and natural gas extraction has come to the mountain people and fattened on their (initially) willing labor. That's one fold. Concurrently with it, the mountain people, not least their women, have gone into the outside world to the sites of industries such as textiling, steel, and auto-making.

Of these two developments it was the inmigration of industry that reached significant proportions first. For it was quite soon after the Civil War when timbering began to be big business in the mountains. Lands west of the mountains suitable for cash crop agriculture had already been shorn of their virgin stands, and soon after the Civil War timber companies in river towns like Cincinnati and Louisville started sending buyers up into the hills to offer the benighted mountaineers a few cents an acre for the right to cut their timber. The giant stands of beech and chestnut, walnut and oak were attacked in all but the steepest hollows (where they can still be found).

Commercial timbering, unlike the private kind, wasn't considered woman's work, and when occasional female faces look out from the old camp snapshots we can assume they were present as cooks. But women and older children, as well as men, were welcome to ride the giant carcasses down the subsidiary rivers until, marked with the brand of the company waiting to fish them out at Cincinnati or Louisville, they safely entered the strong current of the Ohio. Mountain rivers like the Guyandotte and Tug and Big Sandy could barely float some of the monsters, and they needed a rider on their backs to steer them. Riding the logs didn't pay much, though. The timber bosses were offering only a dollar, for instance, by the turn of the century for the three day float trip down the Guyandotte from Branchland, West Virginia, to the Ohio.

After timbering, the next industry to penetrate the mountains was oil extraction, which also began soon after the Civil War. But the hills have yielded up their oil—and their natural gas, which began to be tapped soon afterward—with much less human effort than they have yielded up their coal. So far as the outside world is concerned, the labor history of Appalachia is virtually synonymous with coal extraction.

And, indeed, what an epic it's been!

—A story never yet told in all its terror and gore, all its sacrifice and brotherhood. Thousands of mountain men and women have lived under reigns of terror rather than accept the thought of our day being no improvement over the day they knew. The coal industry and its unionization is one of the truly epic passages in American history, and women have had no small hand in it.

As the early coal operators entered Appalachia toward the end of the 19th century, one of the most astounding figures in U.S. history was drawn to this region to begin the work of labor organization. Mother Jones, she was called. Her understanding of the forces at work in labor disputes was unique for her time. Her background, unlike that of most national labor leaders of her day (or ours), was a working-class background.

Mother Jones worked with the women of the coal fields as intently as with the men. Morale was her prime concern in the early phases of organization, and she had a genius for building it. She would organize entire towns of women to march, often carrying brooms and mops as symbols of their labor. When on occasion such demonstrations would end in mass arrest, she would devise ways to go on demonstrating. In Greensburg, Pennsylvania, around 1911 a hundred women were arrested for picketing a mine and sentenced to serve 20 days in jail. She convinced them to take their babies with them to jail and to sing them songs all night.

" 'Sleep all day and sing all night,' I told the women, 'and don't stop for anyone.'

"Complaints came in by the dozens, from hotels and lodging houses and private homes.'

" 'These women howl like cats,' said a hotel keeper to me.

" 'That's no way to speak of women who are singing patriotic songs and lullabies to their little ones,' said I.

"After five days in which everyone in town had been kept awake, the judge ordered their release. He was a narrow-minded, irritable, savage-looking old animal and he hated to do it, but no one could muzzle those women!"

The morale of coal miners' wives under the repressions they suffered was less likely to sag than the morale of their husbands. True, their sex secured them somewhat lighter treatment at the hands of mine guards and state militiamen, but the psychological atmosphere in which they lived was, if anything, more debilitating than the physical conditions in the mines.

"I came into intimate contact with the miners and their families," wrote Mother Jones of a western Pennsylvania district. "I went through every mine from Pittsburgh to Brownsville. The miner's wife, who in the majority of cases worked from childhood in the nearby silk mills, is overburdened with childbearing. She ages young. She knows much illness. Many a time I have been in a home where the poor wife was sick in bed, the children crawling over her, quarreling and playing in the room, often the only warm room in the house.

"I would tidy up as best I could, hush the little ones, get them ready for school in the morning, those that didn't go to the breakers or to the mills, pack the lunch in the dinner bucket, bathe the poor wife and brush her hair. I saw the daily heroism of those wives.

"I got to know," she continues, "the life of the breaker boys. The coal was hoisted to a cupola where it was ground. Then it came rattling down in chutes, beside which, ladder-wise, sat little breaker boys whose job it was to pick out the slate from the coal as the black rivers flowed by. Ladders and ladders of little boys sat in the gloom of the breakers, the dust from the coal swirling continuously up in their faces. To see the slate they must bend over their task. Their shoulders were round. Their chests narrow.

"A breaker boss watched the boys. He had a long stick to strike the knuckles of any lad seen neglecting his work. The fingers of the little boys bled, bled on to the coal. Their nails were cut to the quick. The breaker boys were not Little Lord Fauntleroys."

Coal mining was only one of several industries that Mother Jones frequented. After working with Eugene Debs in a railway strike around Birmingham, Alabama in 1904-1905, she went from town to town as a textile worker in order to write a report on labor conditions in the cotton mills. The mill owners wouldn't hire her. Not because she was Mother Jones—they didn't know that—but because she didn't have any children to work alongside her.

So she said she had children who'd be coming to join her once she got settled. That got her hired, but what she saw almost broke her spirit.

In one mill in Selma, Alabama where she worked, the 11-year-old daughter of the woman with whom she lived got her hair

caught in a machine. Her scalp was torn off. They brought her home dead.

"Their lives," wrote Mother Jones, "are woven into the cotton goods they weave. In the thread with which we sew our babies' clothes, the pure white confirmation dresses of our girls, our wedding gowns and dancing frocks—in that thread are twisted the tears and heartache of little children.

"From the south, burdened with the terrible things I had seen, I came to New York and held several meetings to make known conditions as I had found them. I met the opposition of the press and of capital. For a long time after my southern experience, I could scarcely eat. Not alone my clothes, but my food, too, at times seemed bought with the price of the toil of children.

"The funds for foreign missions, for home missions, for welfare and charity workers, for social settlement workers come in part, at least, from the dividends on the cotton mills."

No wonder Mother Jones met opposition. She rejected unanalyzed charity in favor of rewriting the social contract from scratch. In her analysis of the problem, if not her strategy for changing it, she was a Gandhian before Gandhi.

It s hard in the America of today—even in the Appalachia of today—to grasp the state of mind of the women working in southern textile mills at the turn of the century. The mills had been attracted south from New England by southern Chambers of Commerce. Tax breaks, free land, free roads were among the inducements, and the clincher was the "cheap and contented labor."

The "cheap and contented labor" referred to were the so-called poor whites, descendents of the whites who had lived a marginal existence around the fringes of the antebellum slave system. They had been pushed back into the southernmost of the Appalachian chain, many of them, but after the Civil War textile jobs started drawing them forth again. Their southernness was usually no clue to their politics, for their preference for Abe Lincoln over Jeff Davis had been one of the Confederacy's sorest thorns. In northern Alabama whole districts of women whose husbands were fighting in Union armies carried on guerrilla warfare against the Confederacy and finally in 1864-1865 were hauled off en masse to concentration camps.

These people so immune to intimidation turned out to be suckers, however, for a rotten deal posing as benevolent. The cotton mill village with its 3- and 4-room houses, not to mention electric lamps, appeared a luxury to the young woman who had known only crude dirt-floor cabins without windows. The company stores, offering factory versions of every household need, were a revelation to women who had had to make all of them by hand. Even the jingle of a few coins in the pocket was a novelty. The hill people walked willingly into the cotton factories and lived to regret it.

Like one family of a woman and three children whom Mother Jones met in 1905. The father had died of tuberculosis (common among mill workers) and his wife had gone $30 into debt to the company store to pay for his funeral. That was a lot of money to a woman making about 20 cents a day (or night) while her children made 10 cents each. After food and rent were deducted from their wages, little or nothing remained. Year in and year out they toiled to pay back the company without avail.

Mother Jones convinced them they should escape in the middle of the night and get established in another town.

"In the darkness of the night," she writes, "the little family and I drove to the station. We felt like escaping Negro slaves and expected at any moment that bloodhounds would be on our trail. The children shivered and whimpered. Down the dark tracks came the through-train. It slowed down. I lifted the two littlest children onto the platform. The mother and the oldest climbed on. Away we sped, away from the everlasting debt, away to a new town where they could start anew without the millstone about their necks."

With World War I and the automobile, exodus from the mountains reached new proportions, including into the South's textile mills. By then pay ran about $2 a day for 12 hours of work. The formation of unions was anathema to the mill owners.

In 1923 in North Carolina women attempted to have a survey made of the working conditions of the state's then 170,000 female wage-earners. The League of Women Voters, the Federation of Women's Clubs,

the YWCA and numerous other of the state's women's groups lobbied for the survey. They got all sorts of public 'endorsement' from members of the state legislature as well as from other politicans anxious to replace them, but somehow the legislature, always voted it down. The textile manufacturers had a stronger lobby—or anyway one more ready to pass a bribe.

Then the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina tried to make such a survey, including the conditions under which men as well as women worked. The Institute approached the North Carolina Manufacturers' Association for access to the records of its member companies. An annual convention of the Association voted, however, to refuse all cooperation with the survey.

One record of living, if not working, conditions in North Carolina in the 1920's is found in *When Southern Labor Stirs* (1931) by Tom Tippett.

He writes, "Whole families work in the cotton mills, and much of the labor that goes into keeping house and bringing up a family is done at home after the whistle has blown. I lived in a textile household in a typical cotton mill village one summer. They rose at five o'clock. The men chopped wood to build the kitchen fire, the children carried water from a well that supplied eight families, milked the cow and turned it out to pasture. The women prepared the morning meal and instructed the non-working children in the program for the day. At 5:45 the workers were off to the cotton mill; fifteen minutes later they were tending their machines.

"At 6:30 p.m. they were home again with twelve hours and forty-five minutes of their day gone. No sooner back than they picked up the household work again, washed dishes, brought the cow home and did the milking. Someone went to the company store for the next day's supply of food. Supper was prepared, more wood chopped, dishes washed, the family mending and sewing done, and the hundred other tasks that are common in every household were performed. It was often nine or ten o'clock when the family could sit down for a breathing spell before they dragged themselves wearily off to bed. Time after time, the mother would nod in sleep as we sat talking at the table after supper. Vitality was always at a low ebb. They all seemed as tired in the early morning as when the long day was over."

It finally took, early in 1929, the very latest American know-how of that day to break the dam of the southern worker's patience. It took what became known as the 'stretch-out' system, concocted by the new breed of the 20's, the efficiency expert.

The depression was already well underway in the South by the winter of 1928-29. Southern mill owners, feeling the financial pinch, concurrently began getting wind that their employees weren't as fast as textile employees in the North—who incidentally got paid much more for a much shorter work day. Instead of raising wages or cutting hours, the mill owners called in northern 'efficiency engineers' who came down and talked about 'unit production levels.'

The machines were speeded up so that these 'engineers' could measure the fatigue reactions of the men and women who ran them. At the first groan the 'engineer' would glance at his stopwatch and say, "Stretch a little." That's how its victims came to call the general speed-up the 'stretch-out' system. They had to stretch out their bodies to keep up with the new pace of the machines.

The 'stretch-out' was the straw that brought on a wave of textile strikes all across the South in the spring of 1929. They started in Tennessee, spreading to South Carolina and then North Carolina. Within a few weeks 17,000 to 18,000 textile hands were out on strike, including the work force of fifteen of the South's largest mills.

In *When Southern Labor Stirs*, Tom Tippett writes that when the strike reached the village where he lived, "the people were transformed as much and as rapidly as a plant brought out into the sun of early spring after a winter in the cellar. The color of their skin changed, they took on weight, sang songs and marched in parades with a tempo that was entirely new. Men and women stood up in meetings and boasted of increased weight since the strikes had begun.

"Anyone watching the long lines of people as they trudged wearily down the hills of the village before daylight should have hesitated to speed them up without a reduction in their hours of labor."

Fatigue, being subjective, was apparently unable to meet the scientific criteria of the 'efficiency engineers.' The result was an epidemic of strikes.

After they had begun, the strikers called in union organizers, and one major result was that in 1930 the American Federation of Labor began a carefully planned drive to unionize all major southern industries, starting with textiles. Unfortunately, by then all of the big 1929 strikes had been quenched by the state militias of Tennessee, South and North Carolina, with nonamelioration in conditions and considerable loss of life among the strike organizers.

Not that that prevented new strikes from breaking out elsewhere. In the fall of 1930 a wave hit Virginia, but there too, the state militia was used to break it. And as the seriousness of the depression began to grow obvious that winter of 1930-1931, people were too glad to have work at all to risk someone's taking their place.

What with the general unavailability of work throughout the country, Appalachia's out-migration slowed considerably in the great depression of the 1930's. Then with World War II it soared to new highs. As after World War I, this new exodus went both south and north (and some west). Factories in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Columbus, Pittsburgh and other northern cities absorbed millions of Appalachians—including Appalachian women. In places—notably Akron, Ohio's, auto plants—personnel departments have for decades favored Appalachian applicants because of their known work habits, and their high morale under dangerous or unpleasant conditions.

Why this consistently higher morale appears amongst mountain people is no mystery. Down to the present day Appalachia has retained a cultural strength that the rest of the U.S. ever more sorely needs. Sociologists label the culture 'homogenous,' which means (being strictly literal) 'descended from a common progenitor.' But aren't we told in school that the special characteristics of homogenous societies are threatened, if not dissolved, in their members who leave the home ground to live in another society? How is it that Appalachians who move elsewhere in the U.S. show so little sign of assimilation? Every day, it's said, scores of hearses make long treks into the region to bring its far-flung children home for burial.

Not that a few jobs aren't available near home. It's just that they hardly pay, most of them, more than welfare.

But—welfare? Isn't this article supposed to be all about working? (As if getting welfare isn't work.)

Let's glance back through the sequence this article has covered and then look at some hard facts, 1977 facts.

These hills were originally settled by people disinclined to tolerate the treatment being accorded to the level of society which was available to them. To put that society behind them they had to enter a wilderness full of bears, snakes and 'wild' Indians.

Within a century of their arrival in significant numbers (after the Revolutionary War) they had gone up millions of hollows in search of homesites and were cultivating virtually every patch of bottomland in the region of at least a few acres' extent—and not a few scraggly hillsides.

Then society back out in the world changed its tune. The mass production of goods had reached surplus proportions and to insure distribution tax money began to be allocated for subsidizing consumers. 'Welfare' was introduced in this country—starting in the 1930's—so stockpiled inventories could be reduced and manufacturers start getting orders again. People who get welfare aren't getting something for nothing. They're getting something so they'll spend it and keep the economy going. True, something as big as welfare can have mixed motives, but if one of them were to help people, the system wouldn't be so full of indignities. Even being a wage earner is still a stigma in the mountains in many manual occupations. The company tends to assume it owns you—up to and including your soul.

Where unions exist in the mountains—and they're still the exception—they often have difficulty securing their members much more than welfare would amount to. Wages of $2.30 an hour (the current national minimum wage) are common for workers of all ages, not just young people. And many people make less, law or no law.

Let's take hospital work. It's not unknown

for Appalachian hospitals to close down rather than pay their workers—most of them women—more than the minimum wage. A 5½-month strike at Doctor's Memorial Hospital in Welch, West Virginia, ended in the fall of 1977 when the hospital's management closed it down rather than agree to pay most of the staff a few pennies an hour more than the legal minimum—most of the 140 employees being women, many of them Black.

Other recent strikes just as bitterly contested have occurred in Pikeville, and Prestonsburg, Kentucky; and in Charleston and Huntington, West Virginia.

Non-medical hospital workers share with farm workers the distinction of being among the last major U.S. occupations unionized. It wasn't until 1975 that unions appeared on the scene in West Virginia and eastern Kentucky.

At Cabell-Huntington Hospital in Huntington, for instance, the first union contract was signed in 1975 to run for two years. It secured only a 6% pay hike—or 3% a year. At the same time, to discredit the union, supervisory personnel were given a 30% raise and an extra week's vacation.

In fall 1977, as the date neared when that contract would expire, the hospital administrators made an offer of a 4% wage increase, to be spread over the coming two years (less than one-fourth the official inflation rate of the U.S. dollar). The union members demanded not only more pay than that, but also better working conditions and better health benefits for their families. Many of them were making only $2.51 an hour before deductions. One woman who had worked there 18 years was making only $3.05 an hour before deductions.

The whole establishment of the region has risen as a body to oppose more pay for hospital workers. Huntington's only daily paper gave them a blast from both barrels with headlines about a 17% increase in rates at the hospital, to become effective the day after the old contract would expire. The union members countered by voting to go out on strike that day—whereupon the hospital hired a strikebreaking management consultant at $400 a day.

At 6 a.m. on the first day of the strike, the city's police chief appeared in person before the hospital to harrass picketing strikers. He singled out one woman, physically abused her and then had her arrested. Another woman was hit by the car of a strike-breaker. One of the men picketing was beat up by a doctor, fracturing his ribs and requiring stitches on his face.

As the strike began the hospital went to court and got an injunction declaring it illegal. All workers were ordered back to the job. The union members, however, voted unanimously to stay on strike, and the injunction was rescinded.

Despite full support from Huntington's other unions, police intimidation remained continual throughout the strike, which lasted three weeks. Halfway through, with the morale of the strikers showing no letup, the hospital's trustees began to meet behind closed doors. After several meetings, they offered the workers an 8% wage increase, to be allocated at the discretion of the workers themselves. This was a major victory. It means that even in this winter of growing economic pessimism some of the people nearest the bottom of the economic pile can manage to eat a little better and stay a little warmer.

Such victories assure a future for the new hospital unions in Appalachia. It remains hard to know whether other fields can be unionized. Commercial agriculture in the mountains is a very decentralized process, for instance, compared with the areas Caesar Chavez's National Farmworkers Union is organizing. Although the annual cash value of some mountain crops (notably tobacco and apples) is immense, their average unit of production is probably under an acre. Many growers pay their help less than the national minimum wage, but there appears little anyone can do about it.

Unit IV
Lesson 10

HEALTH ISSUES OF APPALACHIAN WOMEN

INTRODUCTION

Appalachian women and health care? Let's listen to this issue being discussed by a mountain woman who has been a pioneer in the area of family planning and community-run health clinics. Her name is Ethel Brewster. She explains: "Ever since I can remember, a mother has been responsible for the well-being and the needs of her children—healthwise and everything else. Mountain mothers have always had the responsibility of the health problems of their children and their husbands, too, really, and they usually tend to neglect their own health until sometimes it's beyond repair. But that's the way it's always been in the mountains." (*Mountain Life and Work,* June 1974)

The issues are numerous: the inadequacy of available services, the insensitivity of doctors from outside the region to the attitudes, values and realities of the people of the region; the special problems of low-income and welfare women; the inadequate health care of Black Appalachians; the scarcity of prenatal health care; and the need for women to control their own bodies.

This lesson is designed to explore health care issues as they relate to women in the Appalachian region.

OBJECTIVES

1. **To explore and be able to articulate the issues surrounding health and health care services as they relate to Appalachian women.**
2. **To display a knowledge of the origins and development of the Frontier Nursing Service.**
3. **To develop an understanding of the contributions of Appalachian midwives to Appalachian society and American society at large.**

FACILITATOR PREPARATION

Obtain multiple copies of the Special Women and Health Issue of *Mountain Life and Work*, June 1974, by writing the Council of the Southern Mountains, Drawer N, Clintwood, Virginia, 24228. Read materials in this lesson carefully. Select the learning objectives and activities most appropriate for your learning/teaching situation.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Activity I: (Objective 1)

1. Assign readings as follows:
   a. Assign each student two articles in the annotated bibliography of this lesson so that all of the selections are read by the combined class.
   b. Assign all class members to read the Special Women and Health Issue of *Mountain Life and Work*, June 1974.
2. If possible, show some of the media presentations provided in this lesson's annotated bibliography.
3. After having students summarize their articles for the class, facilitate a class discussion using these questions:
   a. What are 10 major health issues of Appalachian women?
   b. Which health problems do they have in common with most other American women? Which are distinctly their own? Why?
   c. How are these medical problems being dealt with at present? What facilities or programs could be most beneficial if the necessary finances were allocated?
   d. What attitudes among the women themselves and among the medical profession are obstacles to more health progress for Appalachia?
   e. If the medical problems of Appalachian women were remedied (to the extent scientifically possible) what impact might this have on their economic, social, sexual, and political lives?

Activity II: (Objective 3)

1. Acquire and show one or more of the films in this lesson's bibliography.
2. After students have read several selections on midwifery from the lesson's bibliography, discuss the following questions together:
   a. What roles have midwives historically played in Appalachian women's health care?
   b. What roles do they presently assume?
   c. How have changes occurred from their past to present status?
   d. How could the services of midwives be accorded more status in contemporary society?
   e. What unique contributions might midwives make that other medical paraprofessionals could not?
   f. What are the disadvantages to continuing the services of midwives in Appalachia?

Activity III: (Objective 2)

1. Assign students the Breckenridge article (1952).
2. Role play the early development of the Frontier Nursing Service, by pretending that a radio commentator is interviewing three patients and three nurses in the program.

HEALTH ISSUES OF APPALACHIAN WOMEN

AN *ANNOTATED* BIBLIOGRAPHY
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Bernard, J. Moving Mountains: Appalachian Women Organize. *Ms.*, 1975, 4(3), 21.

A group of health workers and patients at the community-controlled Mud Creek Clinic of Floyd County in Eastern Kentucky founded the Appalachian Women's Rights Organization (AWRO). As one of its programs, AWRO provided a refuge for battered women.

Boston Women's Health Book Collective. *Our Bodies, Ourselves.* New York: Simon Schuster, 1976 (2nd ed.).

An excellent general health care book written by women for women.

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*Breckenridge, M. *Wife Neighborhoods: A Story of the Frontier Nursing Service.* New York: Harper and Row, 1952 (1st ed.)

Mary Breckenridge started Frontier Nursing Service in eastern Kentucky despite incredible odds.

Campbell, M. *Folks Do Get Born.* New York: Rinehart, 1946.

Included are stories of midwifery in the South.

Dykeman, W. *Too Many People, Too Little Love.* New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1974.

A biography of Edna Rankin McKinnon, who was a pioneer for birth control. Chapter 5 deals with her work in the Appalachian region in 1939.

Haun, M. *The Hawk's Done Gone and Other Stories.* Herschel Gower (ed.), reprint 1940. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968.

Mildred Haun addresses the topics of midwifery, witchcraft, and granny women in this work of fiction.

Health: Mud Creek Clinic: A Success. *Mountain Life and Work*, 1974, 50(7-8), 4-6.

The privately funded and self-maintaining project opened its clinic at a new location. The aim is to provide total patient care as well as education to people in the area about the need for better health care. Eula Hall is chairperson of the community board which runs the project.

Health: Women's Alcoholism Center. *Mountain Life and Work*, 1974, 50(7-8), 7.

A drop-in center for women alcoholics was organized in the Over-the-Rhine section of Cincinnati, Ohio. The activities were to be directed toward facilitating self-reliance.

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A reprint of a 1905 publication in which biculturist Emma B. Miles records her observations of mountain people in a social context. Of particular interest is her account of Aunt Genevy, a midwife.

Peck, E.S. *Nurses in Time*. Berea, Kentucky: Berea College, 1963.

An account of the development of nursing education at Berea College 1898-1963.

Poole, E. *Nurses on Horseback*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932.

An account of the impact of Frontier Nursing Service on rural eastern Kentucky.

Sowders, K. Mountain Women Suffer Severe Health Problems in Cities. *Mountain Life and Work*, 1974, 50(1), 21.

Many mountain women living in cities suffer from brown lung, from problems brought about by the mental strain accompanying migration, from impersonal medical care, and from living in a place where they feel unwanted.

Special Women's Issue. *Mountain Life and Work,* 1974, 50(6).

Focused on women's health concerns, articles in this issue include interviews of women who relate their personal experiences with health care, birth control, prenatal care, childbirth, and welfare; an account of health and safety hazards faced by women in Appalachian garmet factories and cotton mills; a summary of the needs of the elderly; information on gynecological care; and information on benefits available to widows.

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FILMS AND VIDEOTAPES

"Black Midwife and Nurse." Videotape. B&W. 30 minutes. Broadside TV, Elm and Millard Street, Johnson City, Tennessee 37601.

A ninety-six-year-old woman, Aunt Minnie Conley of Carter County, talks of her service to the mountain community delivering babies.

"Nature's Way." 16 mm. Color, 20 minutes. Appalshop, Inc., Box 743, Whitesburg, Kentucky 41858.

People who use herbs and home remedies to treat health problems are shown. The highlight of the film is the delivery of twins by a midwife.

"Midwife Nurse." Videotape. B&W. 30 minutes. Broadwide TV, Elm and Millard Streets, Johnson City, Tennessee 37601.

A proposal for a clinic with trained midwife nurses was taped.

Unit IV
Lesson 11

EDUCATION AND COUNSELING NEEDS OF APPALACHIAN WOMEN

INTRODUCTION

Given the "homogenized" nature of American curricula, textbooks, and programs, Appalachian females share with other rural American females many unmet educational and counseling needs which result from their unique experiences related to being female and non-urban. In addition, they have unique educational and counseling needs which are related to the fact that most educational experiences in the public schools do not reflect or value the characteristics, language idiosyncrasies, value orientations, or experiences of Appalachian culture.

Through a series of regional consultations held across the nation in 1976, the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs assessed the needs of rural women and directed particular attention to the needs of Appalachian women. The central issues that emerged in their investigations were: personal growth and recognition; political participation and legal rights; health education and health care; child care; early childhood and special education; and preservation of rural values. The specifics included under each broad area are addressed in the publication, *Educational Needs of Rural Women and Girls*, which is available free of cost upon request.[1]

This lesson is designed to aid the student in investigating the education and counseling needs of Appalachian girls and women in both public and higher education.

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[1] For free copies of the report on *Educational Needs of Rural Women and Girls*, write the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, Suite 821, 1832 M. Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

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OBJECTIVES

1. **To make the student aware of the variety of concerns of Appalachian women which need to be addressed by education and counseling services, both formal and informal.**
2. **To help students design programs and techniques to meet the needs of Appalachian women currently ignored by the traditional educational system.**

FACILITATOR PREPARATION

1. Obtain multiple copies of *The Educational Needs of Rural Women and Girls* and the special women's issue of *Mountain Life and Work*, June, 1974. Read the publications carefully.
2. Read "An Examination of Appalachian Values, American Values, and Higher Education in the Appalachian Region: A Tale of a Mountaineer" (Lord, 1976) (included in this lesson).
3. Select learning activities and objectives consistent with your learning goals. Read the related readings thoroughly.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Activity I: (Objectives 1 and 2)

1. Assign students the reading of *The Educational Needs of Rural Women and Girls,* pp. 11-16, 21-35, and the special women's issue of *Mountain Life and Work,* June 1974.
2. Assign students the readings in *Appalachian Miseducation: Three Articles on Education in Appalachia* (Branscome, Clark and Snyder).
3. Ask the students to identify the major educational and counseling needs of Appalachian women in the following areas:
   a. Personal growth and recognition
   b. Political participation and legal rights
   c. Health education and health care
   d. Child care
   e. Early childhood and special education
   f. Counseling and career development
   g. Elementary and secondary education
   h. Preservation of rural values

4. Ask the students to suggest a variety of possible solutions and alternatives for meeting the identified educational needs in the region.

Activity II: (Objectives 1 and 2)

1. Complete Activity I.
2. After reading the Lord article, "Tale of a Mountaineer," and the Miller article, "Appalachian Education: A Critique and Suggestions for Reform," as a small group assignment, students are to engage in a discussion regarding the kinds of career counseling and life planning services which would be helpful to Appalachian women and girls.
3. Students are to identify the kinds of career counseling services for women which exist in rural communities (i.e., church organizations, social service agencies, adult education programs, and state vocational programs.
4. Within the small groups, students are to design career development models which would adequately assist rural Appalachian women and girls in career planning; for example: changes in the elementary and secondary curriculum which would encourage girls to consider many occupations, career development programs which would inform girls of the statistics on the lives of adult Appalachian women in rural communities, and women's centers which could promote day-care facilities and serve as resources on women's health issues.

Activity III: (Objective 1)

1. Assign students the readings of *The Educational Needs of Rural Women and Girls;* "Tale of a Mountaineer" by Lord; and "Appalachian Education: A Critique and Suggestions for Reform" by Miller.
2. Role play a situation in which a school administrator must be convinced by a counselor in an Appalachian community that the needs of females are going unmet and new programs must be developed. Use the specific information provided in the assigned readings to substantiate the arguments, rather than relying purely on emotional appeals. Develop a convincing argument.

EDUCATION AND COUNSELING NEEDS OF APPALACHIAN WOMEN

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APPENDIX: READINGS AND WORKSHEETS

ACTIVITY I: AN EXAMINATION OF APPALACHIAN VALUES, AMERICAN VALUES, AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE APPALACHIAN REGION: A TALE OF A MOUNTAINEER *

Sharon Burmeister Lord

In order to examine the relationship of values to the role of Appalachian colleges in the future, I have chosen to employ a common strategy of mountain people, that of making a point by telling a tale or a story. In order to explore the topic, please read carefully "A Tale of a Mountaineer."

A Tale of a Mountaineer

by S.B. Lord

As the jet engines propel the DC9 into space, an Appalachian mountaineer, seated by a window on the left side of the plane, stares intently at the gold-orange ball of sun while lost in thought. Images of the past flash through the mind like scenes from old movies.

This particular mountaineer, who was born and raised to adulthood in Mingo County, West Virginia, the "heart of the billion-dollar coal field" and land of Hatfield-McCoy fame, now lives in East Tennessee, owning and operating a 100-acre mountain farm nestled between Knoxville and the Great Smoky Mountains. It's a "back-hollow" farm, accessible only by a long gravel road winding between two steep hills. In the privacy of the hollow, the mountaineer lives and raises cows, horses, chickens, pigs, dogs, cats, rabbits, ducks, goats, and a one-acre vagetable garden.

By tracing the roots of this particular mountaineer, one finds that a grandparent on the father's side of the family was a farmer, and a grandparent on the mother's side operated a boarding house for miners. During childhood, the family unit was supported solely by the earnings of a clerk for the county coal operator's association.

The mountaineer is mid-thirtyish, of Scotch-Irish and English descent, and has brown eyes, longer than average brown hair, and a slender build. (Before you read further, please try to imagine the mountaineer sitting in the plane. Stop reading and picture the mountaineer in your mind. Describe to yourself your image of the mountaineer.)

The mountaineer is en route to the University of Wisconsin, Madison, to attend a summer institute designed to train educators to become college presidents. Yes, our mountaineer is also an educator, a professor at a large southeastern university. (Now picture the mountaineer in your mind. How has the image changed? Why has the image changed?)

The mountaineer has been asked to brainstorm about the future role of higher education in the Appalachian region. (What values do you think would be reflected in the master plan which will develop? Will they be determined by the specific socialization experiences of our mountaineer? What will be the basis for determining what is desirable for Appalachian colleges in the future?)

Let's observe our mountaineer reflecting

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* Paper presented to the Conference on the Roles of Colleges in Southern Appalachia: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow. Appalachian Consortium, Mars Hill College, Asheville, North Carolina, June 24, 1976.

on the task of defining the future role of Appalachian colleges. Note what considerations are being made. What personal values come into play? What is recalled from earlier educational experiences?

Flashes from the past. The scene—the mountaineer as a small child riding in a noisy car, viewing the railroad track, the road and the river squeezed side-by-side into the narrow valley between two lush, green mountains.

"Who owns the mountains, Mom?"

"Oh, the coal company or the railroad, probably."

"Can't people own mountains, Mom?"

"Just the men who own the mines, I guess."

"Why?"

"That's just the way it's always been."

(But "why" remains the unspoken question in the child's mind.)

Another scene. The same child at a grandmother's home upon the death of a neighbor.

"Granny, when did Mr. Mounts die?"

"Dear child, he died Friday. They taken him to the funeral home, and they'll bury [pronounced burr-ie] the body [pronounced bie-dy] on Monday."

The child ponders the grammar and the pronunciation of words so distinctly different from that of the school teacher's. The child wonders, "Does that mean my granny is dumb?"

In school, the mountain child learns that any *man* in America, regardless of income or personal circumstances, can grow up to be President. The child studies American history and learns about the contributions of our forefathers, as well as the importance of the Constitution which puts forth the proposition that all men are created equal in America.

The child studies economics and the principles of capitalism and learns not only that a penny saved is a penny earned, but also that if one is willing to work hard, almost anything can be achieved in America. One might argue that the child learns to read about the American dream, to write about the American dream, and to compute numbers that figure one's assets, liabilities, taxes, and capital gains when the American dream finally comes true.

But making A's in economics and social studies does not lead the child to an understanding of why so many people in the community are poor. The mountain child cannot resolve what the school has taught with the realities of everyday life in Appalachia. Yet all the teachers and the textbooks seem to basically agree, so what is the child to conclude?

Is Granny stupid because she talks differently? Must the child be careful not to model the significant others in the family since they dress and often act differently from textbook people? Since the family doesn't have much money, does that mean that the adults have been lazier than other people who have lots of money?

The confusion usually increases with education. The choice often seems to be one of devaluing all that seemed so good and right as a young child, in order to become a well-educated American.

The plane jolts and roars as the engine reversal signals the landing at O'Hare. Our mountaineer collects belongings and joins the line of passengers exiting the plane. Thoughts of Appalachia are interrupted as the processes of deplaning, locating the proper terminal, and checking in for the final leg of the flight are executed.

The new flight is more crowded than the last. The seat beside our mountaineer is claimed by a rosy-cheeked, gray-haired woman of Norwegian descent whose twinkling eyes and pleasant smile give indication that quiet contemplation during this particular flight should be foregone for the choice of conversation with wise and charming company.

Greetings are exchanged, and soon, at the insistence of the new acquaintance, our mountaineer explains pieces of personal history as well as a description of the task at hand, the issue of values and the future of Appalachian higher education.

The Norwegian woman listens intently. When the mountaineer finally pauses, she says, "It surprises me that you're a college professor and that you think someday you might be a college president." (Picture our mountaineer again; try to imagine a clear image.)

"Why does that surprise you? Is it because I grew up in a poverty region in the mountains, or is it because you just heard me be very critical of the public education to which I was exposed?"

"Well, neither of those reasons, really. Those variables probably make you a more effective educator. What surprises me is that you're a woman, and you're doing these things. How did a little girl who grew up in the mountains end up in higher education?" (Picture our mountaineer again. How has your image changed? Why has your image changed?)

The mountaineer sighs heavily and then smiles. "Oh, that question. It's asked of me so often, and it troubles me so."

"But why does it trouble you? I would think you would be proud to be so exceptional," says the Norwegian woman in an encouraging voice.

"I'm sure you meant no harm. But so many people ask that question. It's the values and assumptions behind the question which trouble me, especially as an educator."

"Please go on," the woman urged.

"You see, I feel it is a very complex issue. And very often individuals in higher education treat any issue that sounds like a 'women's issue' very lightly, or, on the other hand, seem so defensive that it becomes difficult to deal with the import of your question seriously and comprehensively.

"Perhaps I can return to that question after I explain my personal values, and the way I perceive the role of higher education in Appalachia."

Thus, the mountaineer began to explain.

"As an educator, I am acutely aware that much of the formal education in the public schools puts at a disadvantage any child whose language, behavior, values, or experiences are different from those reflected in the school's curriculum, policies, practices, and teacher behavior. While I am not of the opinion that there is such a thing as an 'Appalachian value system' which is totally distinct and consistently different from some larger 'American culture value system,' I am acutely aware that differing histories, settlement patterns, economic conditions, and political and social circumstances contribute to both intergroup and intragroup differences in the peoples of this nation. Any educational system which treats as valid only one normative set of values and experiences has the effect of devaluing any values and experiences which differ from that norm. The case of the Appalachian mountain child is a case in point.

"Let's assume, however, that a significant number of mountain children remain oriented toward education sufficiently to choose to pursue higher education in the Appalachian region. I am of the opinion that colleges could meet the needs of these young people as well as young people from outside the region.

"For example, there is no reason why dialect differences, and the history of the English language in the region, could not be treated as legitimate educational topics in college. Teaching individuals to communicate in Standard English does not necessitate a devaluing of the language or dialect which has communicated perfectly well in the individual's sub-culture.

"It was only through the good fortune of stumbling across Horace Kephart's book, *Our Southern Highlanders*, that I came to understand the Elizabethan and sometime Chaucerian roots of my grandmother's language. I was suddenly proud to realize that she spoke a rich, ancient, well-preserved form of perfectly valid English, and my self-esteem, as well as my regard for her, was heightened.

"I then elected to pursue courses in the history of the English language and a course on Appalachian folk ballads. As a result, I began to find a part of the history, the roots, of my family, my sub-culture, my experiences. For the first time I began to see why it had been difficult in the past to make connections between the content of my formal education and the realities of my life.

"With my new awareness, I began to pursue a remedial educational program on my own—remedying my lack of education about my Appalachian heritage—because it was not available in the college curriculum. The readings I have done and the personal accounts I have heard lead me to conclude that my experience with the college curriculum is fairly typical of the experience of most students in Appalachian colleges.

"As I became aware of my political, social, and economic roots, I determined to try to

master the psychology of education with the goal of trying to translate what I had learned into educational philosophy and practice. You might be interested in a poem I wrote at the beginning of my graduate program; it reflects my values and my questions at that time.

"I used a Shakespearean sonnet form to structure my communication. Oh yes, I had learned my formal education well; three quatrains of a b a b, c d c d, e f e f, and a closing couplet, g g, using iambic pentameter rhythm. Let's see if I can remember it.

The sun sets on the West Virginia hills.
The valleys rest within the evening's shade.
And though man brought the poverty and stills
Yet I can see the beauty that God made.

My heart lies heavy now within my breast
To know mankind can mar earth's beauty so.
My spirit dulled, my soul filled with unrest,
I search for answers no one seems to know.

Is greed the cause, that stripped the hills of trees
And raked the mountains like a giant comb?
What brought the unschooled miner to his knees
And made welfare the father in each home?

The saddest part, it give my heart a chill,
To hear it said, "Oh well, it is God's will."

"In graduate school I studied the philosophies, history and psychology of education; as usual, I learned my formal lessons well. But my professors often deemed my research questions, which were related to my cultural experiences, irrelevant. I fought hard to win my research committee's approval to investigate the problem of self-esteem in what they called "disadvantaged" Appalachian children. "Why?" they asked. "Who will be interested in your findings? What impact on education could your findings have?"

"Perhaps it was my mountaineer's independence, stubbornness, and self-reliance which won out in the end. I spent months in remote areas of West Virginia, determined to shake the unquestioned hypothesis that low-income, rural Appalachian children, like all "disadvantaged" children, of course, have low self-esteem when they enter school.

"I investigated the interrelationships of income level, type of school (small rural or consolidated), grade level, sex, and self-concept. While many of my findings were interesting, I'll simply highlight the most relevant ones.

"First, self-concepts of low-income, rural Appalachian children in the early grades, as a group, fell right at the mean or average when compared with the norms of the measuring instrument; in other words, their self-concepts were no less positive than those of the national norm group. Moreover, the self-concepts of the children in the lower middle-income group in the consolidated schools were significantly higher than the national mean. In other words, their self-concepts were much more positive than the national norm group.

"However, at the high school level, even after the attrition of the less successful students (the dropouts), the self-esteem of students from rural areas who attended consolidated middle-class high schools was significantly lower than other groups. I believe this indicates that the middle-class experience of consolidated Appalachian schools often results in the lower-income child's devaluing of self over time.

"My doctoral committee found the study interesting, after all, and my role as a formal student came to an end. I had come to value, as a goal for higher education, the development of a diversified educational experience which recognized and accepted individual differences; which recognized and accommodated cultural diversity; which fostered the development of active, questioning problem solvers, rather than passive learners; and which also developed individuals who could function effectively in the society at large.

"I came to value more than ever the right of an individual to choose—language, career, life style, economic aspiration, personal values. Moreover, I am convinced that the best choices are made on the basis of having the most information available.

"I believe positive esteem is basic to fully functioning individuals, and I am convinced that self-esteem is enhanced by an understanding of one's history or, in other words, by an understanding of "how I came to be the way I am, and if I am different, why?"

"Reclaiming my cultural roots was basic to becoming an integrated adult who felt no

need to reject parts of herself. I believe creative problem solving requires a confidence in self, as well as the ability to entertain a variety of alternatives. Because I value the development of creative problem solvers in this rapidly changing technological society of ours, I must value the educational process of exploring alternatives—in systems, lifestyles, roles, and values—while recognizing the validity of each individual's personal choices.

"I suppose it's obvious that my value system would result in significant changes in most higher education programs in the Appalachian region. It would mean . . ."

"Pardon me," the Norwegian woman interrupted, "but we're almost to Madison. I'm fascinated by what you're saying; and generally, I do agree with you. But I'd like to return to my earlier question, since our trip is almost at an end."

The mountaineer leans back in her seat and flashes a resigned smile. "Of course, your question and all of its implications must be addressed, no matter how complex or unpopular the task may seem. Wasn't it something like, 'What's a nice little mountain gal like you doing in a place like this?' Do you realize that your question and the issue of values and Appalachian education are integrally related?"

"Well, convince me," she urged.

Our mountaineer began to share some more childhood scenes.

"I was always aware that the rules at school were often different for boys and girls, but I could never figure out why. Having spent the first six years of life playing in the hills, climbing trees, riding bikes, and winning foot races against the best of them, I found it difficult to have my physical activity curtailed at school. The rules were often unspoken, but always clear. Boys played ball; girls jumped rope or played tag and jacks (and I hated jacks). Why could we girls play ball with the boys at home, but not at school?

"Girls should always wear skirts, I was told in third grade. My plea, which was to become stronger and more insistent over time, was 'Why? What's the reason?' The answer, so often, was simply 'because you're a girl.'

"I got around the particular problem of skirts many times by wearing my snowsuit pants, even when it wasn't snowing, because the pants of my snowsuit were allowed. Although it was a warm alternative, it allowed me the opportunity of climbing trees and sliding down the hill beside the school in pieces of cardboard.

"The label 'unladylike,' with all its negative sanctions, was applied much more frequently as I approached puberty. Young ladies shouldn't . . . run up the steps two-by-two, chew bubble gum, play competitive sports, walk in the mountains alone, play trumpet or bass horn, take trigonometry, or go to college.

"I always asked for the rationale. It was usually missing or, at best, left-field type reasoning. For example, 'Girls shouldn't play trumpet or trombone cause they'll get fat lips.' (Why don't boys get fat lips, I always wondered.) 'You shouldn't play in the jazz band, even if you are a first-chair saxophone player.' 'Why?' 'Because there's never been a girl in the jazz band.'

"The more any female deviated from the acceptable, narrowly defined female norm, the louder and more threatening the rules became. And the most threatening rule of all, which was subtly, but consistently, communicated, was 'Girls shouldn't appear smarter than boys. Girls shouldn't compete with boys. If you do you won't be popular, and you won't find a husband.'

"One of the most memorable events of my life was related to my high school career in student government. We had a very well-designed student government experience available in our secondary school. After having been elected student council representative for three years and president of my class during my junior year, I announced that I had decided to run for student body president. The student government president responded by saying, 'But you can't.' 'Why?' I asked in amazement. 'Because you're a girl. Girls can't be student body president.'

"The negative response from one of my teachers was more sophisticated, but equally discouraging. With a paternalistic smile, he explained that I shouldn't run for president because girls had never been president, and I simply wouldn't win. In exasperation, I firmly stated, 'You show me in the

United States Constitution where it says that.' (Fortunately for me, I had forgotten that the Constitution stated, 'all *men* are created equal'). The principal laughed and muttered, 'Okay, go ahead. Run if you wish. But don't expect to win.' And I learned a great deal about real-world politics during that election."

With a laugh, the rosy-cheeked traveling companion inquired, "Well, tell me, did you win?" "Of course, I won," the mountaineer answered. "But I doubted my sanity often when I realized that my study of civics and American history had been a study of men—male presidents and male politicians."

The mountaineer continued, "You see, just as my Appalachian roots were lost to me at that time, so were my roots as a female in American society lost to me. I had been taught a history of *man* and *male culture*. Woman, her contributions, her role in domestic technology, her oppression under English law, her psychology . . . *her story* in the culture, had been denied me. I have been doing remedial work ever since in order to learn herstory (her story) on my own; history (his story) had been taught to me very thoroughly, at least in white, middle-class terms."

With a puzzled look, the Norwegian woman inquired, "But if that is true, if the female experience is devalued or missing in American education, in general, and Appalachian education, in particular, how do you explain your present circumstances in life? How do you account for your professorship, your Ph.D., your selection to participate in an administrative training institute? And, moreover, how do you account for those other women, few though they may be at present, who are excelling in careers and professions?"

"That question has been asked of me in a hundred different ways, and my general response is this. Although it is an exceptional circumstance when a rural, Appalachian child of either sex manages to overcome the disadvantages *which a middle-class school imposes on them*, and although it is an exceptional situation when a mountain child is able to find the financial resources to attend college when the family cannot afford to send her, it might be argued that in one important way, Appalachian women grow up at an advantage over their middle-class, suburban counterparts. Many psychologists argue that the adult role models in a child's life are the most important variables in their learning.

"Like my suburban sisters, I always found *inactive* Jane *watching* Dick run and jump in a textbook setting with which I could not identify. However, my real world was filled with strong female role models; and I believe I modelled what they did, rather than what they said I should do, as the old saying goes.

"In my community in the mountains, there was a female elementary school principal, a female county sheriff, and a female preacher. Moreover, there were strong women in almost every family, contributing in every way they could to the support of the family in the midst of economic exploitation and oppression that made every day a fight for survival.

"You see, at the beginning of our conversation, I explained my family "herstory" to you in terms of the *women* in my family, not the *men*. One grandmother was a farmer; she was also a wife and a mother, but she was not a farmer's wife. She ran the farm while my grandfather was away every week working on the railroad.

"My other grandmother was the wife of a coal miner and the mother of ten children. At the same time, she was operating a boarding house in the coal camps to provide part of the economic support for the family. It was my mother who supported me as a child by being the secretary of the coal operator's association.

"You see, we are so accustomed to having the past explained in terms of 'his story' rather than 'her story' that you probably assumed it was a male family heritage which I was explaining earlier, even though I made no mention of gender of individuals. Perhaps you found it hard to believe that it was I who found, purchased, financed, and managed to live on the farm near the Smokies. Almost every person who visits the farm asks me if I inherited it. But I believe that if we had not been deprived of the history of women in our educational experiences, we would not be surprised to find women filling a variety of roles in life. I would argue that I am not so exceptional; I have simply had exceptional life circumstances. The fact is, women in the

mountains seldom fit the sex-role stereotype which fills the textbooks and curricula in American public and higher education.

"Were your children taught in American schools of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Sojourner Truth, Mary Harris (Mother) Jones, Susan B. Anthony, Margaret Sanger, Elizabeth Tubman, Phyllis Wheatley, Emma Goldman and the countless other foremothers who founded this nation? Did they learn that it was not Eli Whitney, but a woman who invented the cotton gin? Moreover, were they made aware that women's contributions to technology were almost always lost because married women could not obtain a legal patent?

"Were they taught in one paragraph in the history books that women in the suffrage movement were strident, crazy middle-class women; or were they taught the complex interaction between the Black suffrage movement and the movement for women's suffrage? For example, do they think that Black people were given the right to vote under the 15th Amendment; or are they aware that a minority of the Black people were granted the right to vote with that amendment? Do they realize that it was a fifty-year struggle after Black men were given the right to vote before Black women and white women were extended the right to participate in the governing of this nation? Moreover, are they aware that the rights of the Constitution were originally intended, not for all people, but only for the white, male property owner?

"If the educational system provided a complete history of our nation, perhaps individuals would have a better understanding of the roots of our contemporary social problems. I recall that in graduate school, not only was I continually discouraged from pursuing research questions on Appalachian issues, but also I was discouraged from pursuing research on any women's issue. Slowly, however, the pieces began to fit together; and my new awarenesses prompted another poem. It, like the first poem I shared with you, was created as I travelled home through the mountains.

"As I drove through east Kentucky and southern West Virginia, I viewed with anger the raping and destruction of the beautiful, whole mountains that I had always held so dear. Then I suddenly realized that the exploitation of my mountains by American society was not unlike the exploitation that I sometimes experienced as a female Appalachian American. This time, the poetry flowed from me in a structure and rhythm that was natural, spontaneous."

"Please share your poem with me," the older woman urged.

"You can read it, if you like," the mountaineer answered. "I have a somewhat battered copy of it in my briefcase." In a moment, she pulled the poem from among a stack of loose papers.

"After glancing at the poem, perhaps you'll see that the poem was intended to be read."

I am these mountains.
These mountains are me.

For I have weathered life,
the elements,
the growth of being.

And, at once
I am round,
and old,
and wise,
and young
and dying,
and alive.

The parts of my being that have died
contribute to my aliveness.

Parts of me have been stolen,
raped,
denied their natural form of being.

But man cannot destroy me,
for I am WHOLE—
a vital, thriving organism.

My growth repairs my wounds.

I will not be fragmented—
divided into p/a/r/t/s—
unnatural.
I am whole!

I am these mountains.
These mountains are me.

"The final piece of the puzzle had fallen into place. I had already come to understand

that my feelings of alienation during my higher education experience had been, in part, a function of a learning experience which reflected only middle-class, white values. I now realized that another important variable had been present, but unrecognized, in the value system of the schools throughout my formal education—the valuing of the male experience only. Finally understanding, in a total way, the fragmenting, alienating nature of my educational experiences began to free me to become whole again, as I had once been as a very young child."

The mountaineer paused, thoughtfully, for several minutes. Then, with a seemingly new source of energy, she elaborated further her views concerning Appalachian education.

"I have been speaking of a very grave educational issue. It is an issue of American values as well as Appalachian values. It is a crucial issue for higher education across our nation, as well as in the mountains. It is a problem so serious that the lighthearted manner in which it is treated in our society only serves to highlight the severity of the problem.

"I am speaking of the void in the education of our men and women, their lack of education regarding woman and culture. We are a half-educated nation at best; we have been taught half a culture, half a history. We have not only neglected and devalued the education *of* women; we have also failed to educate both men and women *about* the female experience. We have denied both men and women educational access to the role models and value system of half the nation's population.

"The point is that in our larger, pluralistic society, where changes in values, norms, and role expectations are an ongoing fact of life, the educational system does not even provide our students an accurate picture of the realities of where we, as a society, have been. For example, having been denied the 200-year herstory of women in America, most individuals do not understand the *apparently* new emphasis on increased role options for women and men.

"The problem becomes exceedingly complex as issues of Appalachian values and role expectations intersect the values and role expectations of the society at large. Of course, a few Appalachian educators would like to ignore the whole women's issue and justify that behavior by arguing that 'this women's liberation stuff isn't happening in the mountains.'

"It is true that most mountain women and men don't identify with terms such as 'women's lib' or 'feminism'; terms which the press has popularized to have negative meanings such as 'bra-burners' and 'male-haters.' Few individuals would want to identify with such negative meanings. It has always been a popular ploy to devalue significant social movements by applying to them glib or derisive terms or labels. Few women, mountain or otherwise, want to be associated with bra-burning or man-hating. The fact of the matter is, sexism is as much a problem of women as it is of men because both women and men have internalized our society's devaluing of women. It is a problem which will be solved ultimately by men and women working together.

"If women's issues are defined realistically, however, and if feminism is defined as strong women role models, contributing positive female energy in a variety of ways to the survival of a society and its institutions, then Appalachian women could be viewed as being at the forefront of women's issues.

"Some of the most radical political female groups I have encountered across this nation are in the mountains of eastern Kentucky and West Virginia, for they are seeking fundamental, basic changes in our society and its values. Every recent issue of *Mountain Life and Work* has had a feature on women's issues: health care, child care, mining issues, women organizing. Mountain women are strong because they have always had to be strong. And I can assure you that Appalachian women will not accept the argument of the liberal or radical spokesperson who would try to ignore women's issues in Appalachia by arguing that we must focus on broader Appalachian issues first.

"Women's issues *are* broad Appalachian issues! Women's concerns are part and parcel of every Appalachian issue—from strip mining to governmental public service programs. The issues which concern female mountaineers are just as legitimate and central to the future of Appalachia as

any issue that concerns male mountaineers. Only a chauvinistic value system could interpret the situation differently."

Then, with a smile, the mountaineer continued. "You know, in some ways the region has 'built-in' solutions to the nation's problems with sexism in language. For example, while the current Standard English language is struggling with the sexism inherent in using the generic 'he,' Appalachian mountain culture has had the problem solved all along.

"The pronoun 'hit,' a nongender Anglo-Saxon term, is still used in the language of many mountain people when the gender of the referent is unknown. Moreover, many mountaineers choose being grammatically improper over being sexist by using 'they' or 'their' as a nongender singular pronoun. For example, they might say, "if a person riles my cousin, *they* had better watch out,' preferring to include both genders to being grammatically correct.

"And the big fuss several years ago over the use of the title 'Ms.' for married and single women seemed a joke in many mountain areas where 'Miz' has always been the standard label for married and single women alike."

"I had no idea!" the Norwegian woman exclaimed. "I have certainly held an inaccurate stereotype of mountain people." Then she continued, "How do you think educators like yourself should approach the issues you have been discussing?"

"I'm afraid there is not a simple answer to that question," replied the mountaineer. "However, as we analyze, evaluate, and redefine goals and values for higher education in the Appalachian region, we must *not* perpetuate our past errors and the mistakes of the society at large.

"I feel that educators must decide consciously if they desire to reflect only middle-class values, only white values, and only male values in their curricula, practices, policies, and behaviors. If they do not, then the goals of higher education in the Appalachian region could reflect the valuing of the experiences of all Americans.

"Higher education could choose to foster the development of integrated, whole human beings who are in touch with their cultural roots and heritage. Educators could also commit their efforts to the development of creative problem solvers who can function effectively in the society at large; problem solvers who have been educated to the realities, rather than the myths, of the past and present economic, political and social conditions of the region, as well as the nation. They could also choose to recognize the importance of developing individuals with high self-esteem who do not have to reject parts of the self in order to feel acceptable."

The mountaineer suddenly paused and, with a note of apology in her voice, remarked, "My, but I've given you quite a lecture during this flight. I hope you will forgive me for getting so carried away. You see, I care so deeply about my Appalachian heritage, and my female heritage.

"I am an Appalachian mountaineer, no matter where I live or what work I do. *But being Appalachian makes me no less an American; just as being female makes me no less a mountaineer."*

Then, with a wistful, faraway look in her eyes she said, "I hope I can help them understand that the same educational values and principles have implications for each of the problems we have discussed."

The Norwegian woman replied enthusiastically, "Well, you've certainly helped me understand. In fact, I can see how a consideration of those same goals and values would improve the education of Norwegian Americans, as well."

As they left the plane and entered the airport waiting room, the Norwegian woman further confirmed by her behavior that she had truly understood. As she pointed toward two rosy-cheeked, blonde children, a girl and a boy, who were eagerly awaiting her arrival, she said, "Those are my grandchildren, Eric and Katrina." As she paused, she smiled; and then, with a knowing wink, she added, "Don't you think Katrina looks like a typical, little Viking?"

Thus, it was with a renewed optimism and determination that the mountaineer walked away from this experience, and set about her task; the task of contributing, in a positive way, to the improvement of the quality of higher education in the Appalachian region.

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APPENDIX A:

SUGGESTED MEDIA RESOURCES

SUGGESTED MEDIA RESOURCES

Anything You Want to Be. A lighthearted visualization of the conflict between the ambitious fantasies of a high school student and the hackneyed stereotypes which society holds out for her. For high school students and adults.

New Day Film Library
P.O. Box 315
Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417

B&W
8½ minutes
Rental: $15 Purchase: $100.00

A Chance to Choose. A filmstrip/cassette which discusses equal and unbiased counseling and focuses on counselor attitudes, client attitudes and counseling materials.

SEGO Project, American Personal and Guidance Association
1607 New Hampshire Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
Telephone: 202/483-4633.

And Ain't I a Woman? — 200 Years of Feminist Literature. A series of six filmstrips/cassettes entitled: "Early Times," "The Feminist 50's," "Hearthside," "Outside," "Society and Attitudes," and "Toward a New Consciousness." The script consists of quotations from feminist authors, loosely edited to correspond to the subject areas suggested by the titles.

Schloat Productions, A Prentice-Hall Company
150 White Plains Road
Tarrytown, NY 10591

Black Woman. From the television series "Black Journal," featuring performances by Black female artists and discussions by Black feminists. Questions discussed include: Is there a Black matriarchy? Should Black women remain subservient to bolster the egos of Black men? For high school students and adults.

Indiana University Media Center
Bloomington, IN 47401

B&W
52 minutes
Rental: $14 Purchase: $265

Black History: Lost, Stolen or Strayed. 54-minute black and white film narrated by Bill Cosby. Shows a predominantly male viewpoint of Black history (1968).

BFA Education Media
2211 Michigan Avenue
P.O. Box 1795
Santa Monica, CA 90406

B&W
54 minutes

Pages 145, 146 - blank

Changing Images. A culturally diverse class of elementary school children is led by the teacher through a five-week project designed to explore sex-role stereotypes. For use with fourth grade on up; teachers and parents.

University of California
Extension Media Center
Berkeley, CA 93301

B&W
15 minutes

Clorae and Albie. The story of two Black women in their early 20s who followed different paths upon dropping out of high school. They are shown struggling—one to get her diploma and raise her children, the other to find satisfying work and obtain a college degree—and making it. For high school students and adults.

Education Development Center
Distribution Center
39 Chapel Street
Newton, MA 02160

Color
36 minutes

The Emerging Woman. This film presents a history of women in the United States from colonial times to the present. Using old pictures, original film shots from this century, and the words of women leaders, the film portrays women in their political and social roles. The content includes women as slaves.

Film Image, 1974

B&W
16 mm film

Eve of Change. A series of six filmstrips/cassettes entitled: "The Invisible Woman: A Slight Case of Unemployment," "Wings of Woman," "So You Take This Woman?" "The High Cost of Working," and "Shortchanged." The filmstrips examine the traditional role of women in our society and search for ways in which traditional stereotypes can be overcome.

Westinghouse Learning Corporation Distribution Center
231 Norfolk Street
Walpole, MA 02081
Telephone: 617/668-7746.

The Fable of He and She. Sex stereotyping is the theme of this amusing film based on a story by Marie Winn. Creative clay animation by Eliot Noyes, Jr., depicts the tale of the "Hardibars" and the "Mushamels," who discover that traditional male and female roles can indeed be discarded.

Learning Corp. of America
1350 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10019

Free to Be You and Me. This set of three films presents a collection of "thumbnail" sketches on children's sex-role stereotypes. All three films show children from a variety of ethnic groups, contain animated drawings, and include skits with children and well-known stars. Based on the best-selling record and book by Marlo Thomas, the films were originally presented on ABC-TV and received the 1974 Emmy Award as the best children's special of the year. Many famous people contributed to this outstanding production, including Marlo Thomas, Harry Belafonte, Mel Brooks, Roberta Flack, Roosevelt Grier, Kris Kristopherson, Tommy Smothers, and Dionne Warwick.

Part I: Expectations - 16 minutes

Boy Meets Girl (baby puppet skit demonstrating sex-role stereotypes)
When We Grow Up
Peering Parents
William's Doll (animated cartoon of a boy who violates male sex-role expectations)

Part II: Independence - 14 minutes

Let's Hear It for Babies
Atalanta (modern-day fairy tale; excellent portrayal of traditional sex-role alternatives)
Sun and Moon (poem)
Dudley Pippin (sensitive male school principal and little boy explore sad feelings)
It's All Right to Cry (Rosy Grier and many photos present a vew of males showing feelings)

Part III: Friendship and Cooperation - 17 minutes

Helping
Ladies First (animated cartoon showing a little girl who overconforms to the traditional view of femaleness)
Kitchee-Koo
Marlo and Friends on Brothers and Sisters
Sisters and Brothers Song
Three Wishes
Checkout Time

McGraw-Hill Films
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020

Color
16 mm film
3 parts

Girls at Twelve. This documentary follows three young friends in their daily lives in a small city near Boston. Shown is the socialization process that we all, even with the best of intentions, impose on youngsters. For high school students and adults.

Education Development Center
Distribution Center
39 Chapel Street
Newton, MA 02160

Color
30 minutes
Rental: $25 Purchase: $330

Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad. Harriet Tubman was born a slave in the South, where she grew up in the decades preceding the Civil War. Yet even before the Civil War erupted, slave owners were offering more than $40,000 for her capture. Harriet Tubman was one of the most daring conductors of the Underground Railroad. Cast includes Ethel Waters, Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis.

Contemporary McGraw-Hill Films
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020

B&W
54 minutes
16 mm film

Growing Up Female: As Six Becomes One. A statement about the social conditioning of women, drawn from a close, detailed study of six individual girls and women of different ages. For use with high school students and adults.

New Day Films
P.O. Box 315
Franklin Lakes, N.J. 07417

B&W
60 minutes

Hey! What about Us? Depicts sex-role stereotyping in physical education classes, playground games and classroom behavior, and contrasts these examples with nonstereotyped sequences: a girl displays competence in football, a boy excels in dance. Filmed mostly in elementary school settings. For fourth grade on up; teachers and parents.

University of California
Extension Media Center
Berkeley, CA 93301

Color
15 minutes
Rental: $17 Purchase: $200

I Is for Important. Children in kindergarten through eighth grade display the effects of their sex-role stereotyping through social interactions and emotional expression. We see the resistance of children to role reversal in kindergarten play, the anxiety felt by boys over appearing to be a "sissy" before their peers, the indoctrination of girls into commercial definitions of beauty. For fourth grade on up; teachers and parents.

University of California
Extension Media Center
Berkeley, CA 93301

Color
12 minutes

Janie's Janie. Janie is a gutsy welfare mother from Newark, NJ. The film charts her growth from a self-hating housewife to a liberated divorced woman with a sense of community and a readiness to fight for her rights. "Before," she says, "I was my father's Janie, then I was Charlie's Janie—now I'm Janie's Janie." A consciousness-raising film for older adolescents and adults.

Odeon Films
1619 Broadway
New York, NY 10019

B&W
25 minutes
Rental: $25 Purchase: $250

Jobs and Gender. These two filmstrips are designed to involve adolescents in examining the myth of "men's" work and "women's" work. The filmstrips expose the effect of sex-role stereotypes on occupational choices and present role models in nontraditional jobs. Interviews with a female carpenter and a male nurse present a personal view of the advantages and disadvantages of choosing a nontraditional job. Viewers are encouraged to examine the facts and their own feelings about moving away from sex-role expectations.

Guidance Associates
757 3rd Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Color
18 minutes

Lucy. Lucy is the story of an unwed, pregnant teenager. The brief narrative presents her romantic relationship with her boyfriend, the tensions the pregnancy causes in the family, and the alternatives Lucy faces as an expectant mother. The film has an urban setting, and the central character is a Puerto Rican girl. This nonmoralistic film is designed for teenagers and for people who work with teenagers. It is a motivational film designed to stimulate discussion and lead to an understanding of the problems of teenage pregnancy. It is outdated in relation to the topic of abortion. The film was produced in 1971, before abortion was legalized, but class discussion can compensate for that deficiency.

Pictura Films Distribution Corp.
43 N. 16th Street
New York, NY 10020.

B&W
13 minutes

Masculinity. A four-part filmstrip study of men today: their roles, their impact upon the world in which they move, the ways they perceive themselves in terms of masculine images, and how they are perceived in these same terms by others. This filmstrip also discusses the validity of certain long-held assumptions about men and masculinity, the degree to which myth and traditional stereotypes have influenced these assumptions, and what options and new directions men now have open to them. Though the program focuses on men, its implications not only have equal value for students of both sexes, but also shed valuable light on the closely related subjects of women and their roles.

Warren Schloat Productions, Inc.
West Nyack, NY 10094

Color
41 minutes

Male/Female: Changing Lifestyles. Parts 1, 2, 3, and 4. Four filmstrips/cassettes entitled: "Biology and Behavior," "The Old Traditions," "Modern Trends," and "Young People Speak for Themselves," in which the roles sexes assume in our society are challenged and are shown to be shaped by socializing forces.

EAV - Educational Audio-Visual, Inc.
1 Clairmont Avenue
Pleasantville, NY 10570

Men and Women, Myths and Stereotypes. Carousel slide set and cassettes, 40 minutes, produced by the Center for Humanities.

Part I: 20 minutes
A definition of stereotypes; how they are culturally represented in literature, drama and art; and how they affect human development.

Part II: 20 minutes
A representation of the ranges of stereotypes in American "popular" culture.

Center for Humanities
2 Holland Avenue
White Plains, NY 10603

Color
40 minutes

Men's Lives. This is a contemporary view of the male role portrayed through the medium of film by several young men from Antioch College. It consists of a view of the male sex role from many different perspectives via interviews with a wide range of people—children, old people, students, workers, Black people and white people. The way each man has a chance to express all his opinions, both popular and unpopular, is particularly enjoyable. The film shows men as they are and as others see them. Blue ribbon winner, American Film Festival.

New Day Films
P.O. Box 315
Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417

Color
43 minutes
16 mm film

Nature's Way. Visits with Appalachian senior citizens who have become experts in holistic and natural approaches to home remedies and treatment of disease. Last third of film features midwife delivery of twins.

Appalshop Films
Box 743N
Whitesburg, KY 41858

Color
22 minutes
Rental: $25 Purchase: $250

Non-Traditional Careers for Women. Part I and Part II. Two filmstrips/cassettes in which women are shown discussing their motivations for pursuing nontraditional careers and the gradually changing attitudes of co-workers and the general public. A narrator supplies factual information.

Pathescope Educational Media, Inc.
71 Weyman Avenue
New Rochelle, NY 10802
Telephone: 914/235-0800

Other Women, Other Work. Presentation of some unorthodox job alternatives for women. Seven women are shown at their jobs, and are heard discussing their attitudes toward their work. We see a pilot, carpenter, truck driver, roofer, oceanographer, veterinarian, and broadcast journalist. A career awareness--and consciousness-raising—film for junior high, high school, and adult audiences.

Churchill Films
662 North Robertson Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90053

Color
20 minutes
Purchase: $230.

Quilting in the Southern Appalachians. Synchronized slide-tape program featuring Necie Hunsucker of Cherokee County, North Carolina. She creates a "log cabin" quilt and reminisces on growing up in the mountains.

Harry J. Segedy
Berea College Appalachian Museum
C.P.O. Box 1311
Berea, KY 40404
Telephone: 606/986-9341 ext. 560

15 minutes
Purchase: $60

Quilting Women. Entertaining and informative presentation on the history and art of quilting and the companionship offered by women working together over a quilting frame. Interspersed with dulcimer tunes and fiddle airs.

Appalshop Films
Box 743N
Whitesburg, KY 41858

Color
28 minutes
Rental: $30 Purchase: $300

Rape: The Reality. A documentary videotape on rape produced by Elaine Velazquez.

Elaine Velazquez
17 N.W. Fifth, #215
Portland, OR 97209
Telephone: 503/233-3654

B&W video
40 minutes
Rental: $25

Roberta Flack. Roberta Flack, a Black singer, is shown performing, recording, and talking about her childhood, marriage, teaching experiences, and show business career. For high school students and adults.

Indiana University Audiovisual Center
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Color
30 minutes
Rental: $20 Purchase: $315

Sex-Role Stereotyping Kit: National Education Association. Parts I and II, filmstrip and record or cassettes, 1973.

Part I: The Labels: Femininity and Masculinity - 16 minutes.
Presents a well-developed definition of the existence of sex roles as evidenced in the media, children's toys and numerous shots of the American way of life. This filmstrip is an excellent introduction to the topic of sex-role stereotyping. It is authoritative (NEA), clearly presented, well documented, and representative of a cross section of American society.

Part II: The Reinforcement - 10 minutes.
A survey of the institutions in our society which teach sex-role-appropriate behaviors, personality traits and interests. The filmstrip ends on a positive note, with suggestions for combating sex-role stereotypes.

McGraw-Hill Films
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020

Spinning Wool in the Southern Appalachians. Synchronized slide-tape program featuring Mrs. Sarah Bailey of Bledsoe, KY. She demonstrates the process of spinning wool on the "walking wheel," from shearing sheep to winding yarn into skeins.

Harry J. Segedy
Berea College Appalachian Museum
C.P.O. Box 1311
Berea, KY 40404
Telephone: 606/986-9341 ext. 560

15 minutes
Purchase: $55

Sugar and Spice. Shows how the sex-role socialization process in three different schools, representing early childhood and elementary education, has been expanded to offer options for both boys and girls. Teachers and parents discuss their own growing awareness about sex-role stereotyping and its effects on them and their students and children. Discussion guide accompanies the film. For teachers and parents.

Odeon Films
1619 Broadway
New York, NY 10019

Color
32 minutes
Rental: $20 Purchase: $275

The Millstone Sewing Center. Sensitive coverage of a sewing and community center project conceived and managed by older mountain women. Contains themes of social action, meaningful work, aging, sense of community, women, the federal antipoverty program.

Appalshop Films
Box 743N
Whitesburg, KY 41858

Color
13 minutes
Rental: $15 Purchase: $120

The Struggle of Coon Branch Mountain. Depicts rural Appalachian community protest of poor roads and school circumstances. Describes community school efforts and grass-roots organizing.

Appalshop Films
Box 743N
Whitesburg, KY 41858

B&W
13 minutes
Rental: $20 Purchase: $150

You Can Be Anything. A series of four filmstrips and four records entitled: "Boys and Girls Can Do Anything," "The World is Wide Open," "The Choice is Yours," and "Think about the Future." Children are shown fantasizing about their occupations when they become adults.

New York Times
Teaching Resources Films
357 Adams Street
Bedford Hills, NY 10507

Young Women in Sports. Four young female athletes—a discus thrower, gymnast, runner, and swimmer—are shown training and competing. They explore their feelings about strength, competition and themselves as women and as athletes. For use with junior high or high school students in physical education classes or guidance programs as a springboard for discussions about girls and women in sports.

BFA Educational Media
2211 Michigan Avenue
Santa Monica, CA 90406

Color
15 minutes

Women Emerging. The meaning of being a woman is explored in this film which documents the experiences of a multicultural women's class in an experimental school within Berkeley (California) High School. For use with junior high and senior high school students; parents and teachers.

University of California
Extension Media Center
Berkeley, CA 93301

B&W
30 minutes
Rental: $18 Purchase: $215

Women: An American History. Anne Firor Scott, Collaborator. The series consists of six filmstrips/cassettes entitled: "Women of the New World," "The Mill Girl and the Lady," "The Fight for Equality," "A Combination of Work and Hope," "Beyond the Vote," and "The Modern Women's Movement." It is a review of 350 years of the history of the American woman to the 1970's.

Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation
1822 Pickwick Avenue,
Glenview, IL 60025.

Women in American History. by Susan Kempler and Doreen Rappaport. A set of six filmstrips and three cassettes with the following titles: "The Colonies," "After the Revolution," "Slavery and Suffrage," "Reformers," "The Artist," and "Crisis of Identity." A chronology of the contributions of women to shaping American History.

Educational Activities, Inc.
P.O. Box 392
Freeport, NY 11520

APPENDIX B

SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY ON APPALACHIAN WOMEN

by David N. Mielke

The following bibliography is my edited attempt to identify the major Appalachian writings by and/or about women. It is far from being complete, but does represent the breadth of publication. Omitted from consideration were voluminous works by women on rather narrow Appalachian topics such as geology, individual church histories, cooking, crafts, geneology, and certain historical biographies (there are at least thirteen biographies of Daniel Boone by women).

Most of the high-quality Appalachian writing done by women has been in the form of fiction. During the past seventy-five years Appalachian fiction has been more marketable nationally and has served as a better outlet for women than non-fiction. Authors such as Janice Holt Giles, Maristan Chapman, Rebecca Caudill, Wilma Dykeman, and Harriet Arnow all created works well representing regional culture and have received national readership. Some of the works listed in this bibliography, though, are negative, stereotypic, and not reflective of a true regional picture of life in Appalachia. Generally, these books were written more than thirty-five years ago and, like other ethnic literature of the time, gave the population what it wanted—a stereotypic, subhuman view of an American ethnic group; therefore, this body of literature is important in that it does represent the writings of Appalachian women and should be viewed in its historical context.

The field of non-fiction in Appalachian works has been dominated by male authors. I was able to identify no female social scientists who published major empirical or descriptive research on the region prior to World War II. Obviously women in Appalachia in the first half of this century suffered from both a lack of opportunity and a cultural bias which placed females in subservient roles. Only in recent years have non-fiction studies of the Appalachian region by women been published and recognized by scholars as legitimate regional literature.

I have also included in this bibliography a short listing of Appalachian literature for children by women and a listing of general works and anthologies on Appalachia which are relevant to the study of Appalachian women. A more extensive treatment of these two categories will be available from me after December 15, 1978. I welcome and appreciate readers' suggestions and corrections concerning this bibliography.

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APPENDIX B:

SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY ON APPALACHIAN WOMEN

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